THE Freeman

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

APRIL 1961

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LEONARD E. READ *President,* Foundation for Economic Education

PAUL L. POIROT *Managing Editor*

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THE MIRACLE OF INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY

CARLTON WILLIAMS

THE PHILOSOPHY of individual responsibility is probably as old as civilization. Certainly it is older than Jesus, or Socrates, both of whom emphasized the doctrine. The conviction that the individual must hold himself responsible for what he does, or does not do, unquestionably ranges back to the beginnings of the race when a guilty man first raised the troublesome question, "Am I my brother's keeper?"

It might not be far wrong to say that this idea marks the radical transition from savagery to law and order. In the animal kingdom, which we presume comparable to human savagery, no beast is accountable for what it does – it being inconceivable for wild creatures to charge themselves or one another with right or wrong. They kill, ravage, plunder – being savage; and the beast most "red in tooth and claw" is most respected because most feared.

Likewise, when human beings run in wolf pack – as they still do sometimes – the habits of savagery govern. Witness the unspeakable atrocities committed in modern wars and by the Communists in their struggle for power – not to mention organized mob activity in our own "highly civilized" society. The individual then loses his identity, being submerged in authority and held accountable chiefly if and when he violates the interests of that authority. In this respect, totalitarian states can be described as little more than aggrandized wolf packs in which the individual, unless he be in a position of power, is denied the human rights of responsibility, initiative, and independence. But when individuals assert their inalienable rights of *selfhood*, the wolf pack is broken and civilization is born. If this is true, then it appears a tragic fact

The Reverend Mr. Williams is minister of the Old Stone Church, Rockton, Illinois.

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that in huge areas of the world today real civilization either has not yet been born or has already died. In any case, individual responsibility is the necessary hammer pounding the hot iron of human destiny on the cold and unyielding anvil of time.

Courage Required To Face Conscienceless Mob

The practice of individual responsibility, which projects itself across the face of social or governmental solidarity, is a lofty objective, achieved only by the development of individual ideals and convictions. Hence our use of the word *miracle*. Individual responsibility is a common emphasis in the teachings of philosophy and religion, yet it is something of a miracle in practice. Indeed, the practice has been exceedingly rare – at the same time outstandingly influential wherever and whenever there have been those who dared exercise individual responsibility. Socrates practiced it, and the Athenians killed him for it. Jesus practiced it, and was nailed to a Roman cross. Whoever dares to conduct himself at any time contrary to accepted practice, in opposition to the established order, is likely to be considered an enemy to the state-of-things-as-they-are, and is usually dealt with accordingly. The actual practice of individual responsibility is, in truth, quite a miracle.

Responsibility never lies more heavily on the shoulders of those who love freedom than when their freedom is dribbling away from them, like life-blood flowing from deep wounds, and when – because of the hurt and the loss of vitality – they are rendered most helpless and weak. When the tide of the time is running heavily in the opposite direction and while the storms of adversity are still raging, the person who would assume responsibility is tempted to seclude himself in his own half-shelter of despair, saying, "What's the use?" When we seem overwhelmed by the socialistic trend, we are apt to condone our own departure from the truth we know, because we are bound – or defend ourselves by saying we are bound – by the prevailing wishes of the people. Those of us who aspire to leadership – particularly in political affairs – may know the folly involved in many government policies and popular demands, but contend that our hands are tied because we are the servants of the people; to be accepted by the people, we have to give them, or promise to give them, what they want. We may whisper, "We're not to blame if it's bad!" This admission of moral decay has been, all too often, the key to election in

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some of our most important political campaigns.

At the same time public leaders take this attitude, a creeping paralysis of public indifference throws a dam of authoritative regulation across the rights of man, stopping the stream of freedom and impounding a huge backwater of abuse and falsehood that grows ever wider and deeper. Such a dam may hold, growing stronger and higher, for unnamed numbers of years, gradually drowning the highlands of human rights and driving men out of their God-given inheritance by the smothering flood of statism. Such obstruction when it breaks, as it must and will in inevitable human upheaval, may be quite as destructive in its ruin as in its building.

Even though we see the danger forming and honestly fear the consequences, there is the persistent temptation to hide behind any convenient hedge because the truth, if clearly proclaimed and practiced, might involve sacrifice in revenue, property, or position. Farmers, laborers, businessmen—practically all of us—are unwilling to abide by the strict economic justice of the market place if it involves financial loss. The mass demand is for continued special advantage for "me and mine," making the practice of individual responsibility increasingly rare and difficult.

The Right To Choose

Individual responsibility presupposes the right of choice, for if one has no choice he cannot be responsible. At this point we recognize grave danger, for choice is the option to go right or left, to be good or bad. Making an individual responsible shoulders him with the weighty obligation of deciding what he himself should do. Freedom of choice does not guarantee that each will choose wisely or well.

The road to freedom is paved with disappointment, suffering, wounds of battle, desperate struggle, and ceaseless search for truth. No one ever traveled far on that road who did not color it with his own blood, yet was driven on by the desperate fear of certain damnation for all mankind if freedom were not attained. Freedom comes out of bondage—just as being comes out of nonbeing—by Divine creation. And this freedom is the basic meaning of the ego. Self-consciousness is itself a monumental advent of freedom over material existence. A thing has no possible freedom to escape the bondage of "thingdom." A rock has no choice but to be a rock. In all the order of Nature only man can determine for himself. God has planted Himself in man to that magnificent proportion that man can by will and behavior change

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himself and his environment – within limits. Consciousness is the most precious of all freedoms, and is probably the most Divine.

This philosophy, I firmly believe, explains the claim – upon which our nation was founded – that human freedom is a God-given right. Such right is more than an inheritance or a gift. It is an endowment. It is a fundamental quality which makes man "Man" rather than thing. Any system of government or of society which fails to honor this fact and be governed by it is doomed to ultimate failure, for human beings passionately resist being made into mere things. People instinctively struggle for the freedom which their God-given consciousness dictates. The struggle for freedom is forever the struggle of creation against chaos, of existence against oblivion, of life against matter which is itself dead, of liberty against slavery.

The Desire To Be Popular

It may not be easy, however, to translate this wider view into our immediate circumstances. The desire to succeed, to be accepted and accredited, is universal among men of all races. To achieve such desirable ends, the individual is inclined to avoid opposition or offense to others – especially those who are in authority. Hence, if a man is to be popular, he concludes that he must dance to the people's music, however distasteful it may be. Similarly, if an industry is to succeed, it must manufacture the things the populace will buy. In this mad scramble of politics and industry the question whether it is for genuine human welfare is often regarded as merely secondary. Under such a system people relinquish selfhood, becoming mere potentials in a world where things predominate and are alone considered important.

No longer is it a matter of a man standing alone on his wide acres, making up his own mind, then hoeing his own private row as he pleases. Rather, it is more a matter of masses of humanity crowded together, depending upon one another yet each fearing the other, affected jointly by almost every act. Additional complications arise from the interdependence of management and labor, private interests and government regulations, the conflicts of business and persons, falsehood made attractive by a grain of truth, confusion, frustration, loss of faith in old ideals, and lack of courage to hold old forts. From this vexatious dilemma a large segment of the world has accepted regimentation and totalitarian dictatorship as the only satisfactory or promising solution. We in

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America have experimented mildly with that solution, with some tendency to go still further; but we cannot dispel the deep conviction that the rights of the state should never be permitted to supersede the rights of men.

Faith and Integrity

In the light of all this—confused light as it surely is—it appears that individual responsibility is not the product of public attitude but of personal faith. It is the rare achievement of a man standing alone in his own naked integrity regardless of cost, regardless of misunderstanding, regardless of possible persecution.

I am convinced that the only hope for the survival of freedom is the widespread practice of individual responsibility, no matter how difficult it may be. For altogether too long a time we have regarded freedom as private privilege to indulge, debasing liberty into license in our habits if not in our thinking. It may take a crusade of revival proportions to cure the sick national soul, but somehow we must learn again that when the yoke of bondage is taken from man's neck the cross of responsibility is placed on his shoulders.

In the absence of individual concern, falsehood takes root and grows to produce a slow poison which paralyzes awareness to danger while insuring certain destruction. It is the responsibility of the individual to proclaim the truth that liberates, to eradicate falsehood wherever it appears, that the social body be cured. For society cannot cure itself any more than government can reform itself. Such cure comes, if it comes at all, from clear-thinking, far-seeing, fearless individuals who dare to call poison "Poison!" and who are not afraid to prescribe the painful medicine of self-improvement to cure it.

If one man, and another, and another, fails in his duty to obey the truth, then it is forever impossible for society to follow truth. Social merit is impossible without individual merit. And there is no way for the individual to substitute the virtues or the errors of society for his own. He alone is responsible—to himself first, then to society. If there is no one else in all the world who will stand with him in that responsibility, he is not for that reason excused. Individual responsibility requires a man to be a man no matter if all the rest are parasites.

In this technical age of emphasis on the importance of material relations and dependence upon money and goods, the worth of the person becomes more and more crucial. We must understand

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clearly that our future welfare does not rest so much in better machines or in more frightful armaments as it does in better men. Character will always be worth more than plant, tools of war, or money. Somewhere at the heart of every institution and clearly framed by every great idea is the enlarged picture of a man. The men who rise above the flat prairie of conformity to the rugged mountaintop of personal integrity, creativity, and responsibility are those who guarantee that the future will be worth living. The organization, be it union or state, does not create but only tries to keep what has been created. If there is any such thing as social responsibility or vision, it is reflected from individuals. It is also true that if persons are not healed of their own maladies the whole ensemble is exposed.

An old proverb reminds us, "If you are wise, you are wise for yourself; if you scoff, you alone will bear it." Each must suffer the consequences or reap the rewards of his own acts. Yet how often do we blame society for the conditions under which we suffer, willing to accuse anyone but ourselves when the rewards we covet remain out of reach.

There are no proxies, however. Manifestly, no one else can eat your food for you or grow for you. No one else can think for you. When anyone tells you what to think – and you oblige – you are his mental bondman with no feet of your own to stand on. Yet it is always easier to conform than to reform. It is always easier to let others carry the difficult burdens of liberty than to become a crusader for conscience's sake. Whenever we are satisfied to say, in effect, "Make things easy for me. Spend my money for me. Tell me what I am to think and what I must do. Take care of me, please, from the cradle to the grave" – when we advocate such "social progress" – we are pleading for standardized opinion, agreeing to the death of freedom, and admitting that selfhood is in the advanced stages of decay.

It is nothing new, certainly, that we are facing a crisis. Every generation must plow new fields. Men are forever standing at the crossroads in the unending journey which is history. Every day is judgment day. Every age witnesses new problems rising upon old problems – like today's sunshine and rain coming after yesterday's successes and failures. It is a ceaseless modulation of growth, adaptions, and increasing knowledge, teaching all who will be taught that we ourselves, and no one else, will make this world a heaven or a hell.

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"I'm for Free Enterprise--BUT!"

WILLIS H. HALL

FREEDOM of religion, freedom of the press, and our free enterprise system are the foundations upon which we have built the greatest way of life of any nation. This is our American heritage given to us by the Founding Fathers who had courage to fight and die for the God-given rights of free people. Freedom of religion remains substantially intact. Freedom of the press endures in spite of sporadic attacks by those who would like to control, regiment, or direct the people's access to news.

Our concept of free private enterprise is under attack from many sources. Powerful forces who believe in the socialization of property, the supremacy of the State, the subservience of people to government, are constantly boring from within and without to achieve their objectives. But, the greatest threat to our free enterprise system comes from within. There are too many people who are for free enterprise – BUT!

Rugged enterprisers in the home-building industry fight public housing – BUT government mortgage corporations are needed. Some manufacturers object to any government regulation of their business – BUT they welcome a government tariff to curb foreign competition. Chambers of Commerce in the TVA area fight for free enterprise – BUT government power, subsidized by all the people, is sought. Some retail merchants resist government regulation – BUT seek government aid in policing "fair price" agreements. Segments of the petroleum and mining industry are firm believers in the free enterprise system – BUT government should control competitive imports.

Farmers are rugged individualists and great believers in free enterprise – BUT they fight to preserve the right to have Uncle Sam finance rural electrification at half the government cost of borrowing money.

Too many of us believe in the free enterprise system until the go-

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ing gets tough – then a little government subsidy in the form of tariffs, import quotas, or other devices is requested.

We need a new dedication, a renewed devotion to our American enterprise system.

There is no room for a doubting Thomas. The preacher who wishes to preserve freedom of religion must also be a fighter for our free enterprise system, without BUTS.

The editor of a now defunct afternoon Detroit newspaper once said, "This newspaper is for enterprise, hook, line, and sinker. . . . BUT, we recognize there are proper areas of government ownership." There can be no freedom of religion or freedom of the press without a strong free enterprise system. Look at Cuba!

We can't compromise with statism. Government ownership is an insatiable octopus whose tentacles reach out to grasp everything in its area. TVA is a striking example. Starting as a flood control project, with the incidental development of hydroelectric power and a pledge not to construct or operate steam electric generating plants, it now operates the largest steam-generating power system in the world. We, the taxpayers of Michigan, through the taxing power of the federal government, have been forced to contribute one hundred million dollars to subsidize this operation. We are subsidizing our own destruction because TVA-subsidized power is luring Michigan industry and Michigan jobs to the TVA area.

Former President Herbert Hoover said, "The genius of the private enterprise system is that it generates initiative, ingenuity, inventiveness, and unparalleled productivity. With the normal rigidities that are a part of government, obviously the same forces that produce excellent results in private industry do not develop to the same degree in government business enterprises."

We have a responsibility to fight against the slow erosion of our free enterprise system. To preserve the right to our American heritage we must work harder at our responsibilities. We must oppose the "gimme" pressure groups and the political "hander-outs." We must militantly challenge the philosophy that government can do everything for us and charge the bill to others. There are no others – they are you. We must stand, as individuals, for the right to own, to save, to invest in our free enterprise system. Without this freedom, other freedoms will soon be of little value. ◆

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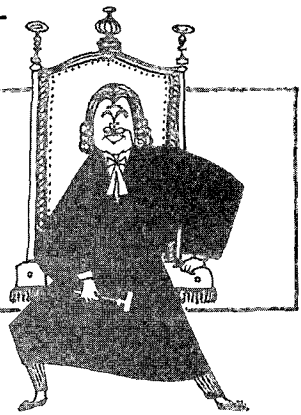
A well-known author, journalist, and spokesman for conservatism explains why . . . .

THERE OUGHT NOT TO BE A LAW



WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

ONE of the surest signs of a drift toward statism and collectivism is a fanatical urge to pass laws designed to reform and remold human nature and to create a paradise in this world. Sometimes Congress is the principal offender; sometimes it is the Supreme Court, which, in the opinion of such a high legal authority as Judge Learned Hand, has displayed a tendency to arrogate to itself the functions of "a third legislative chamber." Judge Hand spells out his reaction to this trend in his stimulating little book, *The Bill of Rights:*

"For myself it would be most irksome to be ruled by a bevy of Platonic Guardians, even if I knew how to choose them, which I assuredly do not. If they were in charge, I should miss the stimulus of living in a society where I have, at least theoretically, some part in the direction of public affairs."

There is historical background for this familiar emotional response to every real or alleged evil: "There ought to be a law."

There has always been a crusading, reforming spirit in America – the natural attribute of a young pioneering people. This has had its good sides and its bad sides. It has led to much improvement in social conditions, in humanization of everyday living relations through voluntary cooperative efforts of individuals and groups. Alexis de Tocqueville and other visitors to America were impressed by this individual and group initiative, in contrast to the

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passive acceptance of state action more characteristic of Europe.

There are dangers in the over-optimistic assumption that passing a law is the best answer to all human weaknesses, frictions, and feelings – or prejudices, depending on the point of view. This leads to an expansion of the power of the State beyond its proper functions of repressing crime and fraud and providing security against the threat of external attack. When government goes further and proposes to censor and regulate all phases of human conduct, it creates more problems than it solves.

The "affirmative state," which seeks to interfere and meddle and snoop on many issues that are not properly liable to legislative treatment, is considered by its advocates the latest model in modernity. Actually it represents a throwback to the era of absolutist rule, when it was considered a function of government to prescribe every detail of individual conduct, to fix wages, to lay down rules as to what people of various social classes might wear.

In this connection there is an instructive historical contrast between the experiences of the British New England colonies and of adjacent Canada under the rule of France. The New England colonies were left pretty much alone, to sink or swim by their own efforts. Canada was almost smothered with well-meant directions and regulations from Paris, often drawn up by royal bureaucrats with little firsthand knowledge of Canadian conditions. New England flourished on its diet of self-help and self-reliance. Canada stagnated as a result of too much paternal supervision from abroad. This is not the least important of the reasons why France was finally ousted from its control of Canada, despite the administrative ability of Frontenac, the courage of Montcalm, and the achievements of the French explorers and missionaries.

Too Many Laws: Too Many Crimes

It is always dangerous for legislators or judicial authorities to forget the distinction between clear and obvious and definable crimes – which can and should be penalized – and those human weaknesses, frailties, maladjustments that cannot be eliminated by laws, court rulings, policemen, and soldiers but are best approached through appeals to the individual sense of right, self-respect, reason, fairness, justice, and morality.

The ultimate guaranty of the rule of law is the support of the overwhelming body of public opinion. There is such support for apprehending and punishing the

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murderer, the burglar, the thief, the embezzler. But, when eager-beaver would-be reformers push through legislative or judicial actions adversely affecting large numbers of people who do not regard themselves and are not regarded by their neighbors as criminals, enforcement trouble follows as certainly as night follows day.

A good example of this principle occurred following the enactment of prohibition by amendment to the American Constitution in 1919. The evils of alcoholism are beyond dispute. It is a ravaging disease, a major cause of crime, poverty, and human unhappiness. But against the excesses of the chronic alcoholic must be set the feelings of the large number of people who use alcohol in moderation with no visible bad effect on their health or behavior.

Most of these people resented being deprived of what they considered a harmless recreation and stimulant. There was such a massive breakdown of respect for law, caused by wholesale violation and evasion, that prohibition was finally discredited and repealed, leaving an unsavory legacy of racketeering gangs which had got their start peddling bootleg liquor.

More than a century ago, before the outbreak of the Civil War, as part of a number of measures designated to relax tension between North and South, Congress enacted a very drastic Fugitive Slave Law designed to facilitate the apprehension and return of slaves who had escaped to the North. The validity of this law was upheld by the Supreme Court. But this fact did not prevent the wholesale nullification of the measure in the Northern states, many of which resorted to "interposition" by enacting state "personal liberty" laws forbidding courts to take cognizance of claims under the Fugitive Slave Law. The latter measure remained largely inoperative and its chief effect was to aggravate further sectional tension and hasten the outbreak of the Civil War.

Race Relations

More recently there have been repeated efforts, at the national and state levels, to introduce an element of legal sanction into the delicate area of race relations. Most important in this connection has been the ruling of the Supreme Court making illegal the system of separate schools for white and Negro children which has been maintained for generations in Southern states. Here was a change, affecting almost every family, which no Southern state legislature would have voted for.

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It is hardly surprising that evasion and noncompliance have been widespread and that there have been regrettable cases of mob violence and disorder. And when one sees pictures of interracial strife and violence and reads of the ordeal to which Negro children are often subjected in boycotted or frigidly hostile white schools the questions must arise: Would it not have been wiser and more statesmanlike to let the matter rest until public opinion in the South was prepared to accept the change constructively? Are such disturbances as have occurred in Little Rock and New Orleans and other places conducive either to good education for children of either race or to good race relations?

Housing and Unemployment

The same objections apply to the use of legal sanctions in such fields as housing and employment. It is a safe prediction that genuine progress in eliminating race prejudice will come in inverse proportion to the amount of bitterness stirred up by attempting to compel people to do something which, rightly or wrongly, they do not wish to do. Sixty-five years ago the great Negro educator and publicist, Booker T. Washington, was invited to address the Atlanta Exposition and was subsequently appointed to an educational jury. This was at a time when Negro progress in all fields, including social recognition, was far behind what it is today. Dr. Washington's speech was acclaimed as a striking contribution to better race relations. In his autobiography, *Up from Slavery*, he stresses the psychological value of the fact that the two invitations did not come to him as a result of outside pressure:

"Suppose that some months before the opening of the Atlanta Exposition there had been a general demand from the press and public platform outside the South that a Negro be given a place on the opening program and that a Negro be placed upon the board of jurors of award. Would any such recognition of the race have taken place? I do not think so."

A whole cumbersome body of law, much of it so detailed as to make equitable enforcement difficult, has grown up on the subject of labor-management relations. Here again, there is surely a case for less, not more legislation, for the proper execution of existing laws, and for adherence to a few broad principles of justice and fair dealing: the right to quit and the right to work; the right to belong or not to belong to a trade union; free and honest votes in trade unions; an unrelenting war

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on racketeers who are equally obnoxious to decent employers and decent workers; and reasonably assured redress for injuries to persons and property.

Unwise To Crusade for Laws Ahead of Public Opinion

The rule of law is one of the foundation pillars of civilized society. But this pillar should not be subjected to overstrain. Law may break down if it is enacted and enforced against the will of a majority or a strong minority of the people. The net to catch lawbreakers should not be made so broad that large numbers of normally law-abiding individuals are caught in it. Experience proves that it is wiser to wait for the slower but surer process of a changing public opinion than to rush through crusading legislation which invites active and passive resistance. Legislation clearly aimed at one section of the country is also undesirable.

Against the advocates of the "affirmative state," who measure the value of every Congress by the amount of legislation it grinds out and regard no field as immune from state meddling and muddling, one may appeal to the authority of the first principles embodied in the American Constitution.

Read through the Constitution and see how many of its provisions are prohibitions, how often the word "not" is to be found:

"Congress shall make *no* law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

Only four lines, yet here is a priceless guaranty of freedom of religion and the press and the right of peaceable assembly. And here are a few more emphatic "Noes" to arbitrary power:

"The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall *not* be violated . . . . *nor* shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation. . . . Excessive bail shall *not* be required, *nor* excessive fines imposed, *nor* cruel and unusual punishments inflicted. . . . The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall *not* be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people. . . .The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall *not* be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it. . . . *No* bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed. . . . *No* capitation or other

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direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken."

Indeed the Constitution may be regarded as one loud "No" to all efforts of the State to interfere with the natural rights and liberties and private concerns of its free citizens. The Founding Fathers were among the best read men of their time and were familiar with the causes that had led to the downfall of free societies in the past. They knew that the tyranny from which the American colonists had freed themselves was only one of many which might infringe on or threaten them in their new independent state. To guard against this danger they set up a government of limited and divided powers and superimposed on this a long series of clear blunt prohibitions of all kinds of arbitrary action, binding on all branches of the government.

The clear brief statement affirming freedom of religion and of the press has already been cited. What a contrast to the turgid, long-winded resolution on the subject of freedom of the press which is under consideration by the United Nations and which is so full of "ifs, buts, and whereases" that it is worse than no resolution at all! Indeed, the contrast between the UN view and the US view of freedom of religion, speech, and press is impressively significant. It is the UN view, shaped, of course, by the presence of many states that are not free and of some that are out-and-out totalitarian, that these basic liberties are matters of convenience, subject to government grant, limitation, or abrogation. The historic American view is that they are natural rights of men under God, which no government may lawfully withhold or deny.

The United States today suffers from too many laws – not from too few – from too many agencies, too many bureaucratic empires. As a consequence, one of the grievances stated against King George III in the Declaration of Independence applies only too well to the condition of the self-governing United States today:

"He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance."

It will be a happy day for Americans when the course of government is set toward the objective of repealing harmful, useless, and obsolete laws, of trusting more to the unaided good sense of the people, and of narrowing and closely defining those fields where legislative and/or judicial action represents the proper approach.

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The COLLAPSE of COMMUNIST ECONOMIC THEORY

LAWRENCE SULLIVAN

COMMUNISM has failed for forty-three years to produce enough goods to keep abreast of Russia's normal population growth.

The living standards of the great majority of the Russian people today are no more comfortable than were the mass standards of the much smaller Russian population under the Czar in the years 1900-1914.

In food supply, housing, education, transportation, and gross national product, Russian per capita standards today are far and away the poorest in all Europe.

Communism – wholly lacking in the basic drives of individual incentives and saddled by a back-breaking enforcement bureaucracy – simply cannot produce the goods and services required to sustain a flourishing and expanding nation. Inside Russia today, Marxist economic theory is under withering attack, even by certain sections of the Khrushchev high command. To refer to Russia as a first-class power is to revert subconsciously in our economic thinking to the era of the 1880's in America.

Today's picture of the Russian economy as is, comes from the current reports of no less than twenty-two U. S. economic survey teams sent to Russia under the State Department's cultural exchange program during the last two years – expert managerial teams of agricultural scientists, industrial engineers, architects, railroad men, real estate developers, aircraft designers, and aviation experts. The essence of all these voluminous reports boils down to three terms to describe the faltering communist economy – shortages of everything, egregious bureaucratic fumbling, and bitter resignation by the masses of the Russian people to a drab life of oppressive and hopeless mediocrity.

Khrushchev's personal admonition to the Central Committee and the Presidium in Moscow during

Mr. Sullivan is Coordinator of Information of the U.S. House of Representatives.

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the nine-day January round table on food shortages fairly characterizes the general criticism of communist economic achievement in even the topmost Kremlin circles. Chiding several large cities for having built extravagant sports stadia, Khrushchev reminded the bureaucratic planners: "Nobody denies these things are necessary, but is now the proper time to build them? No; we haven't enough dwelling houses in the cities, and some people live in basements."

No incident in contemporary communist history better illustrates the failure of the Marxist economy to supply the basic needs of the people. Given food shortages, housing shortages, and shoddy work clothing offered only at prohibitive prices, what then is left of the Marxist economy as a national productive system?

The tragedy of the Marxist failure in Russia lies not only in the bitter enslavement of 210 million Russian people, but in the unbelievable failure of modern communications to transmit the true picture of this historic failure to the tens of millions of struggling people the world around who still are under Marxist siege in their own new ventures in national independence. Despite the utter collapse of Marxism inside Russia today, much of the world still stands goggle-eyed before the fatuous boasts and flamboyant promises of Kremlin propaganda — *"We will bury you!"*

Failures of Marxist Theory

Reduced to man-in-the-street essentials, communism's economic crisis today flows from three basic failures of Marxist theory:

1. Overly intensive urban industrialization has so reduced manpower in the rural areas that there is no longer sufficient food to sustain the bloated cities.
2. The manpower drain to staff the vast planning and compliance bureaus staggers the productive forces under an insupportable burden of consumer demand; the bureaucratic overhead is simply crushing.
3. Ambitious and aggressive communist imperialism has withdrawn so many military and police from the productive labor force that, in many areas of economic activity, only women remain to do the actual work of national supply and maintenance.

Out of these dislocations over a period of 43 years, Russia's planned economy now is dominated by a *new class* of experts, administrators, and enforcers, sustained by an army of court jesters in

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press, radio, TV, and the cultural arts. This new class of elite lawgivers and inspectors comprises at least 8 million people, or less than 4 per cent of the total population. The rest of the Russians (roughly 202 million of them) are mere lambs being led to slaughter in the toils of an archaic and discredited Marxist economy already abandoned in ruins in the Kremlin cellars.

No Soap!

The production and distribution of soap attracted one distinguished U.S. economist during his Russian survey. He discovered that all soap is produced by an autonomous Moscow trust. It is delivered to the retail outlets and sold at a price fixed by the Ministry of Trade. Nowhere in the entire process is the consumer ever consulted, directly or indirectly. He simply takes what the trust delivers – and no questions asked.

When this trust happened upon a new type of soap which could be produced cheaper, the Ministry of Trade rejected it because it called for new stock shelves in the retail outlets. So the consumer never got so much as even a look at the cheaper and better soap. Russian soap, it appears, is produced and distributed at the convenience and pleasure of the Gosplan bureaucrats.

In every item of trade, the state planners systematically maintain a strong sellers' market. In any commodity, therefore, anything goes! Thus, all life in Russia is everlastingly dull, drab, tasteless, graceless, bitter, and boring. Incentive is dead, and hope no more. As one member of an American survey team summarized his journey behind the Iron Curtain: "I was impressed by the disregard of the consumers' sector of the Soviet economy." And consumer, of course, means everybody.

In the heavy industries, another American observer found, there are no established channels for the consideration and testing of new ideas and new techniques. When a factory manager does, by chance, hit upon a new idea, he sends it off to Moscow for approval. It may not be applied even experimentally until approved by the top planners. As a result, all Russian industry is tooled largely by 1930 equipment commandeered from the occupied areas of Europe in the era 1945-49.

Another U. S. survey team examined personal incentives in communist production, as inaugurated in 1924 by Lenin's NEP, and expanded in 1957 by Khrushchev's decrees authorizing unequal compensation for superior production in selected industries. One American economist described the incen-

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tive system as "rather bookish and sentimental, as if it had been devised by a progressive first-grade teacher who really didn't like anyone to get very much ahead of anyone else, and who was uncertain whether to reward effort or performance." In short, the natural incentives of freedom never are permitted to find play in Russia; the very limit is a planned incentive decreed by the remote Gosplan in Moscow.

Russian factories are "uniformly dirty and overcrowded, with internal safety mechanisms virtually unknown."

With a total population of 210 million, against 180 million for the U.S.A., Russia produced in 1959 barely one-third our total electric energy; barely one-third our petroleum; only two-thirds our total steel tonnage. In the same year Russia turned out 125,000 passenger automobiles, against 5,591,000 in the U.S.

Factory managers in Russia are examined once a year on political theory. To hold his job, a manager must qualify anew every year in "Dialectical and Historical Materialism," and in "The History of the Communist Party." His compulsory reading list includes 64 official textbooks, plus 93 selections from Lenin, 11 from Engles, 24 from Marx, 13 from Stalin, 14 from Khrushchev, and one from Mao Tse-tung. It is easy to imagine what happens to Russian production when every factory manager is occupied with these predetermined studies as the prime vehicle of his bureaucratic advancement.

Every factory manager has but one aim in life—to make this month's production quota. His entire career, and all his incentive bonuses, are based on annual quota accomplishment. On this score, another reputable American economist reported:

"The incentive system also encourages falsification of records, the hoarding of labor and supplies, and numerous unusual activities such as working employees on a Sunday and giving them a day off in the following month. . ."

This general pattern of phony quota-making has resulted in a broad panorama of totally unreliable production statistics from every sector of the Bolshevik economy.

Manpower Shortage

Russian labor is regimented in a measure which kills all striving for excellence. Trained workers are in short supply in every line of production, and in-plant incentives often are discouraged by meticulously designed production norms delivered by Gosplan, Moscow, for every factory operation.

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"The urgent need to provide better rewards to labor in order to elicit a higher level of worker productivity presents the Soviet economic planners with a serious challenge," one visiting U.S. expert reported.

As a measure to expand the labor force, the primary school program was modified beginning in 1958, to bring the youngsters through the eighth grade at 15 years of age – ready to go to work in the factories. Through various other revisions of the school program, roughly 5 million youngsters were added to the labor force under 18 years of age. Still the 1960 labor force – mainly because of war losses during the years 1940-45 – was 3.5 million short of the number already assigned to the national production schedules for 1961 by Gosplan. Radio Moscow will blare to all the world in the coming months the fabulous production quotas to "catch up to the U.S.A." The fact is that these quotas, whatever they may be, will not be accomplished. They will be short by the production of 3,500,000 man years!

On the other hand, if labor is to be found for the production schedules of the madcap designers of the current Seven Year Plan, the workers must come from slaves impressed from the new African satellites, from further curtailment of agricultural manpower inside Russia, or from the present 5-million-man standing army throughout Iron Curtain Europe. For all its presently planned chores, Gosplan needs now roughly 2.5 million industrial workers and 1 million additional farm workers.

Over all Russian industry, man-hour production per worker measures about one-third that of U.S. factories. These figures mean that, over all, Russia at present would need to expand her labor force at least six times to achieve total U.S. production volume. Such is the real muscle of the "industrial giant" which so many free men fear throughout the world. This, in fact, is the *papier maché* bear which Khrushchev says will cause our grandchildren to live under communism.

Trouble Everywhere

In housing, Russia hopes to give every city dweller 80 square feet of living space by 1965. The minimum standard, fixed by Marxist doctrine some thirty years ago, was 90 square feet per person. New housing is coming along so slowly in Russia's cities that more than 55 per cent of each year's construction is swallowed up by population growth.

Throughout Moscow today,

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there are almost exactly the same number of grocery stores – in relation to the city's population – as in 1930, and none of the retail grocery stores in Russia boasts refrigeration for meats, fruits, vegetables, or dairy products.

By all of these 22 reports, Russia is distinctly a backward, second-rate economic power, hopelessly bogged down in Marxist theory.

In all her industrial plant, in all her agriculture, in all her military establishment, communist Russia today is dependent entirely on machinery and equipment stolen or copied from the U.S.A. or Western Europe. The same applies to everything in the realm of Russian scientific achievement – from atomic energy to radar guidance systems and rocket thrust. Moscow stole atomic energy and radar bomb sights from the U.S.A., and commandeered rocket thrust from the Peenemuende POW's following the German surrender in 1945. Her big espionage show today is focused on the Polaris missile. She probably will have that secret in five years, and be able to produce the weapon in ten. That will be another great triumph for Marxist economic theory!

A wholly romantic appraisal of the communist economy by the West has misguided world opinion for an entire generation, and served at the same time to tighten the grip of the Moscow Presidium on its millions of disenchanted victims.

The recent U.S.A. survey teams now beckon the whole world to a more realistic estimate of the Marxist accomplishment. Forty-three years in a land of 210 million people is a fair testing time for any theory.

If all our relations with communism were to begin with the fact that the socialist economy simply cannot deliver the goods, and Russia is therefore a second-class power, the whole world soon would be on the mend. Hope would breathe again, and the Russian people would be encouraged to strive for freedom. Little by little and bit by bit, the Iron Curtain would be lifted. A free society then would be offered at least a chance to "help the many who are poor."

A Russia busy catching up on a half-century of pie-in-the-sky promises to the consumer would be too completely occupied at home to attempt intervention, subversion, and revolution in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Capitalism, the creator, would go back to work for human progress. For all humankind, a new birth of freedom would dawn.

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To define a problem clearly is the most important part of solving it.

The HARD CORE of the FARM PROBLEM

KARL BRANDT

FOR OVER two thousand years of history, in nearly all countries except our own, the farm problem has been at different times the center of such troubles that bloody revolutions have resulted from it up to this very moment. This problem is today the testing ground for the irreconcilable philosophies that divide this turbulent world, namely, of freedom and respect for human dignity on one side, and atheistic materialism, the coercive economy, and political tyranny on the other. The systems of coercion begin invariably on the farms.

Even more challenging is the fact that in our country, with its peaceful social changes, 27 years of determined legislative and administrative efforts of the federal government have put us in many ways between the horns of this same old dilemma.

The over-all farm problem in all countries is not a cyclical or temporary affair but is almost eternal in nature and therefore is not amenable to a real remedy or cure. It is part and parcel of the epic of man's struggle for a fuller, more meaningful life. It is composed of continually changing phases of the struggle for survival in, and gradual conquest of, a hostile and scantily yielding nature. It is a story of blood and sweat and toil, of the adventure of defeating the horsemen of the Apocalypse – famine, pestilence, war, and death – which are

Dr. Karl Brandt, a member of President Eisenhower's Council of Economic Advisers, has studied the farm problem in several countries, as a farm manager, director of an agricultural cooperative, and in advisory capacity to governments and international agencies. This article is condensed from an address at the 67th Annual Convention of the Farm Equipment Institute at Dallas, Texas, September 27, 1960.

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still stalking the people in many parts of this planet, atom splitting notwithstanding. In all of Christendom this has meant through the centuries a valiant struggle for gaining the material wherewithal for meaningful practice of being kind to thy neighbor, for diminishing poverty, for creating abundance where scarcity and dearth were the common destiny. The farm problem is an integral element in the eternal process economists call economic development and growth.

You may ask whether this is not pretty farfetched in this country with its recurrent problems of too much of too many things, particularly from farm production. My answer is that the emphasis on the combat against the frugality of nature and against adversity comes much closer to the essence of our farm problem than many people realize. Indeed, it is one of the truly unique achievements of the American people, that here on our farms in an environment of freedom and private enterprise they have won the ultimate victory for all nations on this earth in man's battle against the scarcity of food, against hunger and malnutrition, so much so that today any nation can produce an abundance of food, provided its people understand what it takes to do it and are willing to make the proper effort.

Rationale for Planning

What then has happened that had such extraordinary impact on all economic processes? Quite a few people in this country have ready, plausible, yet totally erroneous, answers to this question. If I paraphrase and condense these answers with a little malice toward some, their *leitmotiv* runs like this:

After having taken from the Indians one of the world's richest pieces of a prolifically fertile nature, and having given away a good deal of it for nothing to the railroad magnates and other rugged individualists and ruthless exploiters of natural resources – who in their ghastly greed destroyed with ax and fire millions of acres of beautiful forests and washed into the Mexican Gulf or exported to other exploiters all the nation's heritage of natural fertility of the land – the U. S. government established the Land Grant Colleges, the Agricultural Experiment Stations, and the Extension Service. Thereby the government made farming on what was left over of the eroded and ravished land so productive that it must now proceed to ration all means of production, and control tightly the activities of all the farmers and enforce it by a tough penal code. This must be done particularly because prices are not what they ought to be despite government supports.

This is so because farmers, unlike all other people, are a different breed than all other people, and

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produce more and more as they progressively get less and less for their products. Measured by some formula of half a century ago, their income is low not only because they maximize their output the lower the prices get, but because all other people in the economy are effectively organized as a conspiracy against the farmer with the labor unions controlling the income of U. S. labor, and the rulers of industries, transportation, and commerce controlling the income of corporations by "administered prices" to the detriment of the farmers in their helpless state of atomistic competition. In view of this effective conspiracy, millions of innocent farm people are driven off the farm by the rascals in all other occupations. Therefore, it is high time for the U. S. government to establish a tight and total control over farm output and guarantee each farmer a just and equitable income. . . .

A Different Interpretation

Let me give you briefly a slightly different view of what in the long run has happened in agriculture's history and what continues to go on in these days. We have ample proof that at Thomas Jefferson's time nine-tenths of the American people earned their livelihood in farming. Around 1900, only 50 per cent of the labor force worked on the farm, and today, less than 10 per cent. This is most significant and illuminating.

What was the state of the U.S. economy then? This can be shown by the economy of many pre-industrial countries which today are still where our economy was 185 years ago. In the underdeveloped economy – except for government personnel, armed forces, teachers, some general stores, and other merchants – nearly all economic activities are carried on at the farm. Food, clothing, shelter, farm and other tools, transportation, education, entertainment, and medication are all produced on the farm. Farmers build houses, barns, and bins in brick, wood, tile, mortar, thatch, and other materials; they lay pavements, dig ditches, and canals, build bridges and dams; they raise draft animals, tan hides, and card, spin, and weave wool and fibers; they process and cure any sort of food and bake bread; they slaughter, preserve, smoke, salt, and pickle; they produce wheels and wagons and sleds; and with animal draft power provide transportation on short and long distance with home-built wagons drawn by oxen or cows, horses, donkeys, or mules, camels, or buffaloes, reindeer, or llamas. Farmers provide entertainment at all festivals, nuptials, and after funerals, educate and train the young people, and treat the sick and the aging. So farmers are jacks of all trades, including the production of plants and

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animals, of lumber and firewood, of peat and gravel and sand, and naval stores. Naturally, what goes to market for cash is little. Hence, it is sheer nonsense to measure their real income in dollars, as it is done today by international agencies for underdeveloped countries. This distorts the true income out of all proportion and serves only to stir resentment against the industrially more advanced nations.

The economy functions in that stage within a structure of total decentralization and with vast numbers of small vertically integrated units. As development begins, one activity after another is segregated from many farms at a time. Hence, not only do new occupations arise, but the skilled workers begin to operate promptly on a much larger scale than before and at much lower costs and prices as well as much higher profits. Many specialized crafts appear: wheelwrights, carriage and harness makers, blacksmiths, and more and more of all the others. Their lower prices expand the market, and their income expands the demand for farm products. If, originally, farmers were jacks of all trades, they gradually became jacks of fewer and fewer trades and thereby more skilled, too. Thus, by the division of labor farm operations become more and more specialized and refined – until ultimately only crops and animals are produced. Gone from the farms are the building trades, the processing of textiles and clothes, the slaughter and curing of meat, until finally even bread, butter, and most other foods are bought because the farm people's time is too precious.

The Complications of Progress

This process of economic development is little understood. It amounts to a piecemeal disassembling and reassembling of the economy with growth of cities and the rise of industries, commerce, transportation, education, research, and a multitude of more and more refined services.

As more people become urban consumers, with a rising purchasing power, they are bidding not for more calories, but for a diet with more calories from products with a high value added such as sugar, milk, meat, bacon, butter, eggs, fruits, and vegetables, and less from starchy staples like corn, wheat, and potatoes. With a rising demand for their products in the markets the people remaining on the farm increase their output, and with it their productivity and income. In order to do this, they have to equip themselves with better tools, more mechanical power, better plants and

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animals. In other words, they must increase the capital at their command, and must perform with ever-increasing efficiency as farm managers and workers.

All of this is proceeding every day in our decentralized free enterprise economy where people are not pushed from one job to another by the government or anybody else, but where they make their own choice and choose their occupation, their place of work and living, according to their own preference and the available opportunities. In doing this the families evaluate the whole package of working and living conditions, the opportunity of improving their composite income in cash, kind, and amenities, the security of their job and livelihood. Even in the backwoods they usually know very well what other jobs pay, and they decide to take or leave the often better pay.

He who claims that in recent years several million farm people "have been driven off the farm" has to explain first who was responsible for the shift from 90 per cent to 10 per cent from farm to nonfarm work in 185 years. Who drove them off? The answer is: nobody, except perhaps occasionally a nagging partner in marriage. Those who left did the sensible thing to contribute their service where it was needed most as the country developed and the economy started and continued to grow. In our system of free people nobody has a right to determine where the people live and where they work on what, except they themselves. In fact, so long as they ask for no support from us, pay their taxes, and are not delinquent as parents of minor children, we have no right to force them to be efficient or to increase their income, even if they prefer to live like a hermit or to sleep like Rip van Winkle.

Growth Involves Change

It is axiomatic that without the movement of people from farms to towns and cities, all industrial and urban development – the entire construction of a civilization on a continent that 100 years ago was still mostly wilderness – would have been impossible.

Moreover, in this long historical shift from farms to urban life and work lies the key to the secret in all modern democracies which puzzles even political scientists and which few people understand: namely, the fact that the smaller the proportion of farm people in the electorate, the more they are assured of the good will of urban voters, legislators, and administrators and their readiness to grant farm aid. It is not the political power of a farm bloc that

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guarantees this, but the subconscious memory of all people in Western industrial society that all of them originally came from the farm which solidly anchors their fondness and affection for the farm people. I call this the urban dwellers' image of "Paradise Lost": the farm as the forebears' origin and the happy valley where life is imagined as having been simple, safe, harmonious, and peaceful. Mixed into such nostalgia is a feeling of guilt toward those who were left behind in the heroic march of urban progress and are condemned to live in social isolation, forced to do hard physical work for long hours, being tied to tend to cows and other animals 365 days, exposed to the vicissitudes and hazards of weather and unstable international markets. Hence, the urban voters have nothing against subsidies for the poor fellows on the farm, even if it means many billions of taxpayers' money.

A Deep-seated Nostalgia

Irrespective of how far these thoughts are from reality, they are anchored deep in the nation's soul. Fortunately, what has actually happened on the farms is far more complex than the average citizen can realize and the situation there is quite different from such nostalgic sentiments.

Our economy has grown in the long run at a very steady rate, and this growth has at all times been hinged to the rise in agricultural productivity, meaning the rate of output per man-hour. In recent years the rate of productivity gain on farms has not only left the population growth and the growth of per capita income way behind, but also the rate of productivity gain in the rest of the economy.

Agriculture is in reality the world's oldest and greatest industry of year-round transportation. In this country our presently four million farms use and operate 470 million acres of cropland, and 900 million acres of grazing land, or a total of 1,370,000,000 acres from below sea level to high mountain plateaus. On the cropland every square foot has to be worked or passed with implements and tools, or loads of materials many times every year – indeed, for some crops up to 35 times – and where double or triple cropping takes place, even more often. And people and livestock and bulky commodities have to be transported from town to farm and from farm to town.

Therefore, to a large extent the saga of progress on the farm is the saga of the fabulous evolution in the technology of transportation. The American Indians had

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no domesticated animals, no ox, no donkey, no horse, and not even a cart with wheels. The Spaniards brought cattle, donkeys, mules, horses, and wagons; and other colonial powers to whom we owe our origin and early success brought more of them. From their beginning, American farmers, with the employment of ultimately over 30 million draft animals, took up to the beginning of this century some 450 million acres of cropland and some 700 million acres of grazing land into agricultural use and cleared in the process some 400 million acres of forest land with its moist soils. This cost three generations of gruesome toil, a piece of homework Soviet Russia still has to do in the future. But contrary to the ignorant indictment by politicians in the early thirties, this clearing of the woodland was one of the great achievements on which the European civilization was built also.

As the economy developed, draft animals became clearly too inefficient in use of both cropland and manpower. Labor, especially, was too scarce and expensive to be wasted. In this century at long last, the internal combustion engine became the effective replacement to animal power – though first, and still predominantly, in this country. It provided individual motive power for the totally decentralized transportation industry that happens to be identical with agriculture. Progress was slow and halting; you could replace the horse only by the combination of three motor vehicles: the tractor, the truck, and the car, because the horse had four or more gears. As oxen, horses, and mules were replaced, mineral fuel set free over 50 million acres of cropland and additional grazing land for other livestock and crops.

Mechanical Power

Today we have a fleet of 15 million tractors, trucks, cars, and combines, plus many millions of electric motors on less than four million farms. A recent estimate listed the mechanical power equipment of our farms at 115.6 million horsepower, all factories at 28.2 million horsepower, and all railroads at 88.7 million horsepower. The result is a gigantic increase in all transportation on the farm while transportation off the farm has mostly been taken over by others. With oxen, horses, and mules practically gone, there is more speed, more power, more versatility for the manpower on farms, having set free so much of it that, for decades to come, less will be needed to feed a rapidly growing population.

The value of the equipment of our farms including machinery

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and motor vehicles has increased in the last 20 years from $3 billion to over $18 billion current dollars, but in terms of work capacity and actual performance, immeasurably more. Of course, farmers buy more new machinery, not because they are new gadgets or do more fancy stunts, but only and exclusively if, and when, all costs per unit of work leave a clear net gain over the costs replaced.

Improved Production Methods

Simultaneous with the vigorous mechanization, the production per plant and per acre of crops and per animal unit has been increased. Crop yields were boosted by better cultural practices, improved seed, more efficient protection of plants against weeds, rodents, insects, worms, bacteria, and fungi, but first and last of all, by better feeding of the plants with more nutrients. Among the nutrients, the key factor turned out to be *nitrogen*. This vital element in the life-bearing proteins is mined with energy from the air by the world's biggest nitrogen producing industry in this country, where it serves as fertilizer, rocket propellant, and base for chemicals. And since plants fed with more nitrogen have rapidly increasing moisture requirements and burn up if they run short of it, farmers applied more supplementary irrigation to break this bottleneck. According to European experience, one ton of nitrogen produces 15 to 20 tons of grain equivalent. Our farm application of nitrogen has increased from next to zero in prewar years to over two million tons, while simultaneously sprinkler irrigation has spread into all states of the Union including the humid ones up to Maine. This was due to the decline in the price of aluminum pipe and motor pump units. The economic force that pushed this acceptance of better technology was again the increasing spread between the costs per unit of nutrient of water applied to the crop and the price per unit of product produced with it.

For animal husbandry the same has happened. Animals are only converters of feed. If one could produce cheaper feed by putting nitrogen in irrigated pastures, he could produce milk or beef at lower cost, and with more profit if the price did not drop too much. But in addition, hybridization, antibiotics, better feed mixtures, and other methods have helped to improve the input-output ratios.

Efficient Modern Agriculture

The aggregate impact of all this increased productivity is enormous and has become the envy

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of the world. With their unique managerial talents, their up-to-date equipment, and the unequaled services provided by the enterprises and institutions of the rest of the economy, the American farmers have developed their giant business to the greatest chemical industry in the world, that of converting annually 280 million tons of roughage, succulent feed, and concentrates, plus a million acres of grazing forage, to animal products. This is capitalism at its best, with the able capitalists in overalls on the tractors, trucks, or haybalers, or in the mechanical milking parlor. Many people do not know it, but if government payments and surplus purchases are excluded, U. S. farms earn $19 billion, or way over 60 per cent of their cash receipts, from sales of livestock products. This is done with over 170 million grain-consuming animal units and close to 100 million roughage consuming animal units, or as much "capital on the hoof" in live inventories as there is in machinery inventory, namely, $18 billion in each. This is one of the secrets of success of U.S. agriculture's productivity: it has the capital, which it can depreciate, maintain, or expand. In the Soviet orbit and many other countries of the world the rulers squeeze every penny of capital out of agriculture in order to invest it in publicly-owned industries, to the consequence of low productivity and waste of natural resources. The greatest farm income support is rapid depreciation allowance for farm machinery and breeding stock under the revenue code.

Contrast Between American and Russian Farm Output

Let me sum up what this huge business of agriculture amounts to in terms of output. It produces in a year with no more than 8.5 per cent of the national labor force, or 7.4 million workers, over *200 million tons of grain, 3 million tons of sugar, over 20 million tons of meat and eggs, over 60 million tons of milk, 35 million tons of fruit and vegetables, or 315 million tons of edible products,* plus *3.5 million tons of cotton,* and *nearly 1 million tons of tobacco.* In order to measure the magnitude of these figures I mention that after 40 years of a brutal experiment of collectivization Soviet Russia produces with 4½ times the number of farm workers (33 million) one-third as much meat (7 million tons) as do our farmers; and even of grain, most of which they eat rather than feed to livestock, they produce only 60 per cent as much as our output. This in spite of an abundance of natural resources in Europe and

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Asia. One American farmer produces food for himself and 24 others. A Soviet farmer produces enough for himself and 4 others.

Interference with Markets

Where then lies the hard core of our farm problem? What I have shown is that while the urban people left behind what in retrospect sometimes looks like a lost paradise, but was in reality an enormous amount of sweat and toil, of drudgery and disease, our agriculture of today is an extremely dynamic business world of its own. The government has called it into action in two world wars and then for the first war of the UN, that in Korea. In the three instances an assignment of all-out production was achieved with guaranteed high prices. But when the aftermath of World War I led to deflation and later to the great industrial depression, the Congress adopted a policy of farm income support in which fixed prices were maintained by government purchase and disposal at a loss, combined with acreage allotments and, in some cases, marketing quotas.

Since the support prices were deliberately set above the equilibrium level at which demand would equal supply and since the government made an open-end commitment to buy all that the market would not absorb, the farmers responded generously to the incentive. The allotment control was defeated by intensification, i.e., by higher input. The marketing quotas were defeated as control measures by shifting the surplus to other commodities. Our farm legislation has about the same effect as if someone had jimmied the voting machine on which the consumers could vote for what farm products they wanted, and how much of them. In other words, the price signals are out of commission.

Two Million Commercial Farms

Of the four million farms, roughly two million full-fledged commercial units produce some 93 per cent of the marketed product. They have some adjustment problems for a few commodities, particularly wheat, but are not in any financial or income calamity. In fact, their business is by any standard relatively satisfactory, especially if we look at the regular and substantial gain accruing in their equity. These farms are one of the greatest assets this nation has and its technology is the greatest asset of the West.

But we have serious problems among certain groups of the remaining two million small, so-called low income farms, particularly in some retarded areas like

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the Appalachians, the Piedmont, the Ozarks, and in the reforestation areas of the upper Lake States. In general the two million small farms need outside employment, mixing nonfarm and farm incomes. No one suggests their abandonment as living quarters. It would be a serious mistake, however, to lump the two million heterogeneous units as suffering alike from too-small incomes. A large part of these are retirement and part-time farms which offer a most desirable form of rural existence for people who have a security insured by pensions, tax benefits, and a flow of part-time work income. The number of this type of farms will grow in the future. They constitute no social or economic problem.

Jobs in Town

There are other farms where the people must avail themselves of the nearby educational and training facilities to find better employment for their young people. It still remains true that only the people themselves can make the decision to move, to change to other occupations, or to undertake better farming practices. Indeed, they are on their way. While farm operators earned $11.8 billion net income from farming last year, the total farm population earned an additional $8.5 million net income from farm work off the farm and from nonagricultural sources.

There is a serious legislative farm problem, definitely not an administrative one. Our farms are by and large in fairly good health, ready to feed 200-, 250-, or 300 million Americans in the future, and better than ever. The real farm problem concerns the question as to how one can liberate the Treasury from the burden of an impossible open-end commitment and a continuous misinvestment in more and more grain without doing harm to the farm community and all those who serve it. This disengagement from faulty legislation requires common sense, a warm heart, and a cool head. It requires an honest businesslike approach and due respect for the basic institutions on which the American economy stands or falls and for the true stature of the farm business with its more than $200 billion productive assets.

Two Ways to Sovietize

We have out-produced the Soviets many times over and have all the benefits of our productivity, but we cannot borrow from them a compulsory production control system which involves the cartelization of agriculture and all farm supply industries without ruining our prosperous farming system. There are two ways of becoming

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Sovietized: by conquest or subversion is one, by voluntary assimilation of their institutions is the other.

Unfortunately, we have in our midst too many self-styled friends of the farmers who know exactly what is good for other people and are yearning to wield just enough power to prescribe from some office desk the recipe for the social medicine the people have to swallow and the orders as to what they have to do or not do. For my taste there is too much affluency in telling the farmers and their suppliers what to do and telling the customers what not to spend their money on.

If we fall for giving these people too much leeway, they will go at it and try to take the competitiveness out of our agriculture and with it its creative dynamic quality. If I were farming right now, I would be tempted to say in these coming weeks every now and then a silent prayer: Good Lord, protect me from my friends; against my enemies I can defend myself.

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Morality and Vigilance

NEXT TO CORRECT MORALS a watchful guardianship over the Constitution is the proper means for its support. No human advantage is indefeasible. The fairest productions of man have in themselves or receive from accident a tendency to decay. Unless the Constitution be constantly fostered on the principles which created it, its excellency will fade; and it will feel, even in its infancy, the weakness and decrepitude of age. Our form of government is superior to all others, inasmuch as it provides, in a fair and honorable manner for its own amendment. But it requires no gift of prophecy to foresee that this privilege may be seized on by demagogues, to introduce wild and destructive innovations. Under the gentle name of amendments changes may be proposed which, if unresisted, will undermine the national compact, mar its fairest features, and reduce it finally to a dead letter. It abates nothing of the danger to say that alterations may be trifling and inconsiderable. If the Constitution be picked away by piecemeal, it is gone — and gone as effectually as if some military despot had grasped it at once, trampled it beneath his feet, and scattered its loose leaves in the wild winds.

DANIEL WEBSTER, *July 5, 1802*

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THE FRAUD OF THE WELFARE STATE

STEPHEN B. MILES, JR.

ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY years ago, Jeremy Bentham proclaimed that the supreme good is "the greatest good of the greatest number." This doctrine, interpreted to subordinate individual to social values, has become the ethical foundation of the Welfare State.

But what is "welfare"? And what is "happiness"? Let us see what Webster says:

"Welfare. 1. State of faring, or doing well, esp., condition of health, prosperity, etc."

"Happiness. 1. Good luck; good fortune; prosperity. 2. A state of well-being and pleasurable satisfaction; bliss."

For all practical purposes, then, "welfare" and "happiness," in dictionary language, seem to be almost synonymous. And the "welfare state," as we know it, fulfills the requirements of neither!

As men and women, and even as children, all of us want out of life – more than anything else – to have a sense of self-respect and a feeling of control over our environment sufficient, at least, to establish a basic independence. When these conditions are not present, we are not "happy," and we do not consider ourselves to be "faring, or doing well."

What is the game children like best? Isn't it pretending to be grown up? And what is it about being grown up that catches their fancy? Isn't it their idea that grownups always "do what they want to do" – that is, control their environment instead of being controlled by it?

Most parents have had the ex-

Mr. Miles, on leave from his Los Angeles management consulting service for a teaching assignment in Idaho, also does free-lance writing and editorial work.

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perience of urging their children in vain to do something that was good for them. Assuming that unquestioning obedience has not been demanded under similar circumstances in the past, the compliance is likely to be, at best, tearful and reluctant. But let the child find out for himself that he *wants* to do it —and then watch him plunge enthusiastically into the very same activity! What is the difference? It is not that by nature he is disobedient or resentful of authority. It is just that, in proportion to the amount of life in them, children as well as grownups yearn to feel that they are controlled from inside rather than outside. (One of the principal problems of parents and others in authority, therefore, is to learn how to elicit obedience in such a way that it will nurture rather than strangle this craving.)

Attaining Goals

To be sure, children are (also like grownups) often spoiled. The child of rich parents may be given all his heart desires even before he asks for it. And he probably will become a brat. Why? Because he is never given a chance to clearly formulate his wants and then use his personal strengths and abilities in attaining them. And because this natural path to freedom and the establishment of mastery and responsibility is closed to him, he must seek to develop whatever misshapen substitutes he can. Although he *seems* to be in control, actually he is at the mercy of his environment even more than the poor kid who never gets what he wants, but at least is allowed to work for it.

By working, even if for little reward, the poor boy learns about goals, which is the first step to gaining a sense of control over one's world – and the longer he lives with them before he can satisfy them, the keener do these goals become. Contrast that with the spoiled brat whose major misfortune may be that he does not have the wherewithal out of which goals are built.

Spoiled Child Psychology

Richard Weaver characterizes the attitude of the urban masses – those targets of the Welfare State – as "spoiled child psychology." "The spoiled child," Weaver says, "has not been made to see the relationship between effort and reward. He wants things, but he regards payment as an imposition or as an expression of malice by those who withhold for it."[1]

Here it is necessary to distinguish the often idle and usually

[1] Richard Weaver, *Ideas Have Consequences*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948. See Chapter VI. This and succeeding quotations are from pp. 113 and 114.

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sluggish feeling that the spoiled child interprets as a "want," from the deep-seated craving for independence and a sense of control. "Spoiled-child wants" are corruptions of real wants, which are at once the instrument and by-product of mental and physical growth. While the unspoiled child wants the things of life that will enable him to exercise and develop his skills of responsibility and integrity, the spoiled child wants (or thinks he wants) the things of death which deprive him of the need of making an effort or of overcoming an obstacle, of making a sacrifice or of encountering a strange and possibly demanding situation. The unspoiled child may want the freedom of a pony and a sleeping bag. The spoiled child wants the opiate of his television "programs."

With the constant contraction of real physical and mental freedom – which always requires effort, struggle, and competition – the spoiled child grows into the semblance of manhood without the maturity and sense of responsibility that only freedom can build into his life. The basic yearning for control over his world is likely to remain strong within him, but he will lack the skills to make it effective. And in the face of the repeated buffets of fate now brought on, in one way or another, by his lack of fundamental skills, he falls a willing victim to the promises of the Welfare State to take over the role of his indulgent parents – until, as Professor Weaver says, "he is unfitted for struggle of any kind."

As Weaver adds: "The truth is that he has never been brought to see what it is to be a man. That man is the product of discipline and of forging, that he really owes thanks for the pulling and tugging that enables him to grow – this concept left the manuals of education with the advent of Romanticism."

Strength Through Struggle

Yes, this has disappeared as a concept of formal education. But all men still recognize in their hearts that they can grow and develop only through a constant interaction between the individual and a recalcitrant environment, in which he – or something within him – tries to assert mastery. Only thus can acts of heroism, self-sacrifice, lifetime devotion to a cause, personal integrity be explained. It also explains – or perhaps is another way of regarding – the seeking of man for God. Distorted and frustrated, it drives men to drink, to crime, to suicide, to atheism.

The Welfare State promises to help its citizens. And it does "help" them. But do men really want help

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– at least the kind that tends to diminish their own ability to control their world for themselves? Not long ago Vollie Tripp pointed out how often "the helping hand" is dashed aside by intended beneficiaries.[2]

Nor do men necessarily want to be on the giving rather than the receiving end of "the helping hand." Except in cases of charity, or where a state of immaturity is implicitly understood, men want *exchange,* not the giving or receiving of *help.* (Even the best cases of charity are exchanges; what individual, worthy of the name, does not feel himself amply repaid by the very opportunity to relieve genuine distress on the part of another individual – also worthy of that calling? And the giving of care and time and energy to one's children is surely an exchange, not only in the increase of joy it brings, but also in its teaching of responsibility to the parent – who is thereby enabled to fulfill his destiny.) The freer the exchange, the more fully can the individual feel a sense of real community and communication – and that now, at last, he is a man among men, and recognized as such. *This* is "happiness" and "well-being."

[2] Vollie Tripp, "The Helping Hand," *The Freeman,* May 1959.

Weakness Encouraged

The Welfare State is a fraud. It promises to promote happiness, but instead brutally diminishes it. Farmers do not really enjoy being given money for not growing crops; it runs counter to their deepest sense of being. Unemployed men do not enjoy receiving checks for no work. Recipients of "free" medical care do not enjoy their increasing lack of a feeling of control and responsibility for their own destinies – which may be what they were suffering from in the first place. Those who are singled out to be the beneficiaries of "free" education, or "free" lunches, without any sense of having earned them other than by being poor and a "deserving case," have suffered on balance a net initial handicap. In the future, whenever the going gets hard, they will be haunted by the memory that they can always give up – and, merely by surrendering their birthright as an individual, accept the easy way out. Even to keep this temptation under control will divert energies that should be used creatively.

There is nothing "free" about one-sided help. It is paid for in the victim's loss of self-respect, and it cultivates the weaknesses in his nature that it may be the purpose of life to overcome.

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SURPLUS LABOR

or — BIG BROTHER IN THE LABOR MARKET

It was a chilly afternoon
At story-telling time.
Old Kaspar closed the windows tight
And poured his rum-and-lime,
While Peterkin and Wilhelmine
Warmed up the television screen.

They saw a crowd of workingmen
Who stood on shuffling feet
And watched an open factory gate
Across the city street,
Where men dressed up like Uncle Sam
Had blocked the gate from post to jamb.

"Now tell us what it's all about!"
The little children cried.
"It is the Federal Wage Control,"
Old Kaspar then replied.
"The lowest legal rate of pay
Was raised another notch today."

"That crowd of workers," Kaspar said,
"Were going through the gate
To work at jobs that paid a wage
Below the legal rate.
But Uncle Sam has made it clear
There'll be no bootleg labor here."

"Will they get jobs at higher pay?"
Asked little Wilhelmine.
"Their chances now," Old Kaspar sighed,
"Are few and far between.
They'll have to join the growing mobs
In search of higher-paying jobs."

"Can workers live," cried Peterkin,
"With neither job nor pay?"
"The payroll taxes," Kaspar said,
"Were also raised today.
The men whose jobs have been destroyed
Will live off workers still employed."

H. P. B. JENKINS
Economist, Fayetteville, Arkansas

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On a Text from The Federalist

FREDERICK A. MANCHESTER

WHILE READING recently in *The Federalist,* I was struck by a quality of its thought which bore no relation to my immediate interest, but which seemed significant, and whose significance has grown upon me with reflection. This quality I call moral realism. As to its nature and importance I should like the reader to form, first of all, a completely independent opinion, and shall therefore set down without comment a series of passages in which it appears. If the series seems long, I ask his indulgence. If I quote so much, it is only because I wish the textual basis for my subsequent remarks and speculations to be broadly and firmly established. Here, then, are the passages:[1]

1 Why has government been instituted at all? Because the passions of men will not conform to the dictates of reason and justice, without constraint.

2 Has it not . . . invariably been found that momentary passions, and immediate interests, have a more active and imperious control

Dr. Manchester is an educator, formerly of the Department of English, University of Wisconsin.

[1] In the following list the arabic numerals identify the quoted passages as distinguished in the text, the roman numerals (in parentheses) the essays in *The Federalist* from which they are taken: 1 (XV), 2 (VI), 3 (XXI), 4 (VI), 5 (LXVII), 6 (X), 7 (LXXII), 8 (XI), 9 (LIV). Essay X is by James Madison, Essay LIV by John Jay; the rest of the essays cited are by Alexander Hamilton. *The Federalist,* it will be recalled, was written in explanation, and defense, of the Constitution proposed for the colonies by the great convention of 1787.

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over human conduct than general or remote considerations of policy, utility, or justice?

3 There are few men who would not feel much less zeal in the discharge of a duty, when they were conscious that the advantages of the station with which it was connected must be relinquished at a determinate period, than when they were permitted to entertain a hope of obtaining, by meriting, a continuance of them. This position will not be disputed, so long as it is admitted that the desire of reward is one of the strongest incentives of human conduct, or that the best security for the fidelity of mankind is to make their interest coincide with their duty.

4 To presume a want of motives for such contests [frequent and violent contests between the states if they should be wholly or partially disunited], as an argument against their existence, would be to forget that men are ambitious, vindictive, and rapacious.

5 Nothing was more to be desired [in the system of electing the President] than that every practicable obstacle should be opposed to cabal, intrigue, and corruption. These most deadly adversaries of republican [that is, popular] government might naturally have been expected to make their approaches from more than one quarter, but chiefly from the desire in foreign powers to gain an improper ascendant in our councils. How could they better gratify this than by raising a creature of their own to the chief magistracy of the Union?

6 If the impulse and the opportunity [on the part of a majority to concert and carry into effect schemes of oppression] be suffered to coincide, we well know that neither moral nor religious motives can be relied on as an adequate control. They are not found to be such on the injustice and violence of individuals, and lose their efficacy in proportion to the number combined together; that is, in proportion as their efficacy becomes needful.

7 The legislature, with a discretionary power over the salary and emoluments of the chief magistrate [the President], could render him as obsequious to their will as they might think proper to make him. . . . There are men who could neither be distressed nor won into a sacrifice of their duty; but this stern virtue is the growth of few soils; and in the main it will be found that a power over a man's support is a power over his will. If it were necessary to confirm so plain a truth by facts, examples would not be wanting, even in this country, of the intimidation or seduction of the executive by the terrors or allurements of the pecuniary arrangements of the legislative body.

8 [If we should reject the union of the colonies] our commerce would be a prey to the wanton intermeddlings of all nations at war with each other; who, having nothing to fear from us, would, with little scruple or remorse, supply their wants by depredations on our property, as often as it fell in their way. The rights of neutrality

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will only be respected when they are defended by an adequate power. A nation despicable by its weakness forfeits even the privilege of being neutral.

9 As there is a degree of depravity in mankind which requires a certain degree of circumspection and distrust, so there are other qualities in human nature which justify a certain portion of esteem and confidence. Republican [that is, popular] government presupposes the existence of these qualities in a higher degree than any other form. Were the pictures which have been drawn by the political jealousy of some among us faithful likenesses of the human character, the inference would be that there is not sufficient virtue among men for self-government, and that nothing less than the chains of despotism can restrain them from destroying and devouring one another.[2]

The Moral Nature of Man

All these excerpts are manifestly concerned, directly or indirectly, with the moral nature of man. What do they say? Reduced to essentials, simply this: that men are ambitious, vindictive, and rapacious; that they are moved by passion and self-interest; that if you would have them do their duty you had better make it to their interest to do it; that, with rare exceptions, a power over a man's support is a power over his will; that men are prone to cabal, intrigue, and corruption; that neither moral nor religious motives can be relied on as adequate control on the injustice and violence of individuals, and, still less, on the injustice and violence of groups; that, combined into nations, men will contrive against one another – and even, as suitable occasion offers, openly rob one another, "with little scruple or remorse"; and, finally, that along with the depravity in man's nature there is also virtue.

I have named the quality illustrated moral realism – "moral" for an obvious reason, "realism" because it seems to me an essentially correct, authentic, factual representation of the aspect of reality concerned. This is what, once you penetrate to the bottom of their nature, men are really like.

A Realistic Appraisal

The picture painted is not a flattering one – yet these are no bishops of a fanatically strenuous church, the authors I have quoted, but simply hardheaded men of the world, tried in the fires of a perilous revolution, well acquainted with history, the greatest by far of

[2] One may here be reminded of Pascal: "It is dangerous to make man see too clearly his equality with the brutes without showing him his greatness. It is also dangerous to make him see his greatness too clearly, apart from his vileness. It is still more dangerous to leave him in ignorance of both. But it is very advantageous to show him both." (Translated by W. F. Trotter.)

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moral laboratories, and intellectually qualified to profit by their learning and by their experience. Moreover, this was no light and ordinary undertaking in which they were engaged, but one which offered the strongest and most practical reasons for dealing only in cold fact. They were recommending a document which, if accepted, would be of the most critical importance to the welfare of the nation, and they were well aware that their premises and conclusions would be subjected to the severest scrutiny. A sound constitution for a country was necessarily a constitution that took into account the naked truth, however uncomplimentary, regarding its citizens ("citizens," they believed, were "the only proper objects of government"); and upon clear statements of this truth they built their case.

An idea expressed in the last of the quoted passages I want to recur to immediately, before it can fade from memory. Popular government, we are told, presupposes the existence of the better qualities of human nature in a higher degree than any other form. This observation, plainly of the highest political significance, finds definite support, and even a striking extension, in a remark made long after the appearance of *The Federalist* by the nineteenth-century English philosopher Herbert Spencer. "The Republican form of government," he said, "is the highest form of government; but because of this it requires the highest type of human nature – *a type* [I am adding the emphasis] *nowhere at present existing.*"[3]

The Changing Attitudes

To this idea I shall return; but at the moment I want to inquire why it was that the moral realism of *The Federalist,* especially its vivid recognition of the evil in man, so much attracted my attention. Not of course because it is new: there is nothing new in it. "The heart is deceitful above all things," said Jeremiah, some twenty-five hundred years ago, "and desperately wicked." The reason is, I suggest, that I seem never to encounter matter of this kind in current political discussion. If my experience in this regard is representative, how is the fact it indicates to be accounted for? Have we to do here with a change in fashions – from eighteenth-century love for abstraction and generalization to twentieth-century addiction to factual detail? Conceivably, to some extent; but the explanation is inadequate. All political arrangements, whether constitutions or laws, are for the control or benefit of men – "the only

[3] From *The Americans* (*Bartlett's Quotations,* 1948, p. 581).

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proper objects of government" — and if the unsophisticated facts of human nature go unmentioned in a statesman's speech, provide him and his auditors with no solid ground for his argument, I suspect that they are absent also from his inmost thought.

If they were indeed thus absent, the circumstance could hardly occasion much surprise in anyone acquainted with certain philosophical developments in the Occident of recent centuries.

Emphasis on Natural Science

Basic among these has been a major shift of investigative attention from human nature to physical nature. The science of man has largely given way to what is inaccurately called natural science — inaccurately because there is no justification for restricting the word nature and its family to such things as air and atoms. The importance of this development is difficult to overestimate. In the millennia preceding the European Renaissance, it was to human nature, almost exclusively, that the world had devoted its most strenuous thought, with a resulting vast accumulation of moral wisdom. The Occident originally shared in this treasure. But with the Renaissance, and subsequently, it has gradually become more and more absorbed in searching out the secrets of its physical environment and in using these to better its material life; and in so doing it has tended to lose its grasp on its most precious heritage. For moral wisdom, unhappily, is not self-perpetuating. Its universal accessibility in public or private libraries in itself avails nothing. If the ultimate truth of man's nature is not constantly rediscovered and confirmed, constantly contemplated and meditated upon, it readily becomes obscured, diluted, distorted, and at last hopelessly confused in the midst of sophistries without end.

A sophistry that appeared in eighteenth-century Europe is of such importance that I class it, along with the great shift of attention to physical nature that alone made it possible, among the significant modern developments. I refer to the doctrine that men are naturally good — a doctrine diametrically opposed to the concept of original sin which long played so large a part in Western religious tradition, and which was conspicuously present in early New England. The authors of *The Federalist* say nothing, so far as I know, about original sin, but one can hardly fail to infer, in reading them, that something of the moral rigor which the idea represents had permeated the intellectual atmosphere in which they were reared. Men are "ambitious,

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vindictive, and rapacious": *that* is a judgment quite in keeping with the thunderous condemnations of a Jonathan Edwards.

Original Sin vs. Natural Goodness

The doctrine of original sin reflected an extreme view of man's depravity, and its very extremeness helped the opposite theory of man's goodness to gain acceptance. Acceptance it did gain, widely, and it is obviously still active in contemporary thought. So long as the capital accumulated during centuries of moral realism, with its accompanying disciplines, continued to yield large dividends in conduct, there was some plausibility in the new doctrine; and by the time capital and dividends had dwindled to the point where the wickedness of man was too obvious to overlook, saving explanations were ready. Men who do evil do it, not because they are not naturally good, but because they are brought up in a bad environment; let society but provide a proper environment, and their conduct will be different. Or, if evil behavior develops even despite a benign environment, it can be attributed to some physiological or psychological defect. Between the two ideas individual responsibility – without which morality has absolutely no meaning – all but disappears.

In proportion as the theory of natural goodness prevails, spontaneous feelings of friendliness, love, compassion, fill the ethical firmament, at the expense of the severities of restraint, and moral realism succumbs to sentimental morality. Then is born the ethical sentimentalist. The ethical sentimentalist is aware of kindly dispositions in his own bosom, and these dispositions, present in himself, he assumes to be present also in others – as indeed, in varying degree and with varying continuity, they commonly are. But, if they are, what more proof does one need that men are naturally good? More, very much more, would be the stern reply of a man known to me only by family tradition. "If you cannot say anything better about me than that I am good-hearted," ran his novel request, "please say nothing at all." Behind that request, one surmises, lay much enlightening experience. He had listened to the affectionate but meaningless maunderings of neighbors in their cups. He had discovered in his everyday dealings with his fellow men that fine feelings may be followed by dastardly deeds.

The authors of *The Federalist* assumed, and by implication asserted, a measure of virtue in man – a measure sufficient for success in self-government; but

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the virtue they had in mind, being realists, was something -- one may be quite sure – very different from the facile outpouring of friendly emotion. It was ultimately neither emotion, nor yet reason, but a moral or spiritual agency distinct from either. It was what marks the man we like to think of, and to honor, as the man of principle.

But to get back to our statesmen. If from their inmost thought, as from their speeches, the maxims of moral realism were absent, the fact would not be difficult to account for, as we have seen, on the basis of certain developments in Western philosophy. Still, to show that a thing might very naturally be, is by no means to prove that it is. We cannot know a man's inmost thought. Possibly our statesmen do indeed meditate upon such concepts of human nature as I have adduced from Hamilton, Madison, and Jay – but in any case, from the point of view of the American electorate, the question at issue is largely academic. What this electorate is ultimately interested in, as an electorate, is not what goes on in the consciousness, or conscience, of its governors, but whether they put into practice a realistic view of human nature in the laws they pass, the administrative structures they set up, the judicial decisions they make, or accept, and the conduct in other respects of the public business. What, as regards these things, is their recent record?

This is a spacious question, inviting a spacious answer, but this I must leave mainly to my reader, contenting myself with brief consideration of a few relevant topics which I have lately had much in mind. The first three of these are related, each having to do with a domestic area of government in which gross abuses or failures in duty are reported convincingly to have arisen: military procurement, the national highway program, and unemployment compensation. I will first try to suggest the facts involved in each case – I can here do little more – and then make my comment.[4]

[4] The material used in my account of this first area is derived from the *Congressional Record, Senate*, of June 13, 1960 (pp. 11,524 ff.) and from a mimeographed document entitled "Statement of Senator Paul H. Douglas Concerning Defense Department Reply to His Charges of Gross Waste in Procurement and Supply Practices of the Military Departments" the latter marked for release from the office of the Senator on July 11, 1960. (For both sources I am indebted to the Senator's kindness.) The material for the second area comes from an article entitled "Our Great Big Highway Bungle" (*Reader's Digest*, July 1960), by Karl Detzer; and that for the third area from an article entitled "The Scandal of Unemployment Compensation" (*Reader's Digest*, April 1960), by Kenneth O. Gilmore.

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Military Procurement

The first area is that of federal procurement of military supplies. The Defense Procurement Act of 1947 ruled that "all purchases and contracts for supplies and services shall be made by advertising, except that such purchases and contracts may be negotiated by the agency head without advertising if – (1) Determined to be necessary in the public interest during the period of a national emergency declared by the President or by the Congress. (2) The public exigency will not admit of the delay incident to advertising, etc." Other special circumstances, all to be exceptions, were defined. In a speech delivered on June 13, 1960, Senator Paul H. Douglas revealed that for the fiscal year 1959 the Defense Department "procured 22.7 billion in supplies through contracts with firms within the United States," and that "of this amount, some 19.7 billion, or 86.4 per cent, was procured through negotiated contracts, and only a little over 3 billion, or less than 14 per cent, was procured through contracts let by competitive bidding."[5] The provisions "put in the law to allow negotiation under some limited circumstances where unusual conditions existed," observes the Senator, "have now been used merely to universalize negotiated contracts."

The Senator made further charges, among them: that as of June 30, 1959, about one-third (valued at 14.3 billion dollars) of the supplies on hand in the Defense Department was "in excess of the needs either to run the military on a day-by-day peacetime basis, or of their needs if we had to go to war tomorrow morning"; and that the Defense Department "eventually plans to dispose of as much as $60 billion at the rate of $10 billion to $12 billion per year over the next 4 to 5 years. . . . The records indicate in general that the Department of Defense has been able to obtain only about 2 cents on the dollar, or 2 per cent, for the stock disposed of."

Illustrations of Waste in Procurement

As illustrations of his charge of waste in procurement, Senator Douglas lists ten items. The first of these is a four-foot cable with a plug at each end, worth about $1.50; price paid by the military, $10.67. The second is a small wrench set with case, worth about $4.50; price paid by the Army,

[5] Elsewhere in the speech Senator Douglas observes: "If any mayor of a city were to purchase 86 per cent of the goods for his city under negotiated contracts such a storm of public disapproval would arise that he would be driven from office."

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$29. The third is a small socket for a lamp, about one inch in length, sold at a retail store for 25 cents; price paid by the government, $21.10. For the remaining seven items anyone interested may consult the Senator's astonishing speech.

Naturally, the Defense Department replied to the charges -- but in part, the lesser part, only. On the general, basic criticisms it was silent. The rebuttal, says Senator Douglas, "takes several forms which, upon examination, are either absurd or raise even more serious charges than I made." This rebuttal I have not seen, but the Senator's counterstatement, patiently, exhaustively detailed, seems devastating -- and definitive, leaving no opening for effective further argument. Reading it, one marvels how the Defense Department could have had the temerity to answer the Senator as it did. One suspects it had sadly underestimated the tenacity, thoroughness, earnestness, and caution of its critic.

"We know," said Senator Gruening, in the course of Senator Douglas's speech, "that Senator Douglas always understates a case." Yet it is Senator Douglas's contention that the waste involved in use of negotiated contracts (a negotiated contract, according to Senator Ervin, is "something like kissing; it goes by favor, not as a matter of right") is "appalling and runs into billions of dollars."

The Federal Highway Program

The second area I referred to is the national highway program. This, a beautiful "dream" sold in 1956 to the American people, "has become a nightmare of recklessness, extravagance, special privilege, bureaucratic stupidity and sometimes downright thievery." Originally thought to require an outlay of 27 billion, "Already many engineers and builders privately estimate that 50 billion dollars will not touch its total cost." The law governing the project, which was to be paid for almost entirely (90 per cent or more) by the federal government, provides that "local needs shall be given equal consideration with the needs of interstate commerce," but "too many cities are giving *all* consideration to their own needs." "Although only 12 per cent of the Interstate Network mileage is slated to go into or around cities, at least 45 per cent of the network money is being spent on urban roads such as Omaha's" -- which "is being driven through the heart of the city at an estimated cost of 42 million dollars, though an alternate route, around the town, would cost less than 15 million."

The article I am citing supplies

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varied examples of abuse or dereliction besides the one just noted, including duplication of already existing roads; building of bridges supposed to accommodate the military to unpardonably erroneous specifications; purchase of land (contrary to federal policy) in advance of appraisal; excessive employment of private engineering consultants; and what are politely referred to as "hush-hush deals." Senator Harry Byrd would appear to be well within the facts when he alleges that the road program is in an "inexcusable mess," and that there has been great "temptation to grab land, hike prices and profiteer."

Unemployment Compensation

The third and last of the areas mentioned is that of unemployment compensation. A federal-state system set up by Congress twenty-five years ago required that to qualify for compensation "workers had to be 'ready, willing, and able to work.' Benefits were to go to legitimate wage-earners who had clearly lost jobs *through no fault of their own,* to tide them over until they could find employment. – The collapse of these standards is shocking." "The solid planks on which [the system] was built . . . have been so warped by the pressures of our growing welfare bureaucracy that hundreds of millions of dollars are being wasted on loafers, quitters, honeymooners, schemers, parasites and a host of others for whom it was never intended."

A few illustrations will point the generalities. An industrial worker retiring at the age of sixty-five with a monthly income of $338, in addition to his Social Security checks, registered as a job seeker, and in this status ultimately collected over $2,000. "In Hollywood, a twelve-year-old child actor spurned parts as an extra paying up to $28 a day, yet was declared eligible for unemployment benefits. Why? The youngster was accustomed to speaking roles at $100 to $150 a day, so lesser parts were beneath him." In New York a woman quit a $45-a-week job to get married, and drew nine weeks of unemployment compensation. Her employer, who as such had to pay the bill, appealed. "When the case finally reached the State Supreme Court Appellate Division, the employer was turned down. The court put marriage in the same class 'as an illness or other event of important personal consequence to the worker.'" A man stole $25,000 from his employer; after a suspension period he collected benefits – for which the man he had stolen from was duly charged!

Such instances as I have given

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beat the system, we are told, "within the law." There are also illegal abuses. "In the last three recorded years 170,000 cases of fraud were officially reported.... The officially admitted take by gypsters: more than 12 million dollars."

There they are – the three areas of shame. What if anything do they suggest regarding the presence of moral realism in those who in the last decades have made or administered our laws? The reply to this question, I for one think, need not be doubtful, or vague. For either in the making or in the administering of the legislation concerned, or in both, this indispensable quality appears to have played a monstrously inadequate role; and it is reasonable to assume that in moral matters a quality that is absent from an action is absent also from the agent.

Global Moral Delinquency

Moral delinquency has many gradations – by no means all of them appearing in our quotations from *The Federalist*. In the present context it ranges all the way from indifference, carelessness, irresponsibility, physical indolence, to conscious violation of oath or duty, and finally to downright venality, theft, or even treason. Both legislation and administration should guard against the entire scale of human weaknesses, with an elaborateness and an intensity proportionate in each individual case to the seriousness or magnitude of the risks involved.

Moral realism, then, in our internal affairs, if we may judge by the three instances cited, is, to say the least, insufficiently active; but obviously such a condition in our internal affairs is *prima facie* evidence of its presence also in our external affairs. If we are not to stop midway in the course of our argument, we must therefore take a look at our recent foreign policy.

The United Nations, I take it, was mainly our idea. The monologuist of "Locksley Hall," an early poem of Tennyson's (published in 1842), tells of how in his rapturous youth, dipping into the future "far as human eye could see," he beheld, among other things, the "nations' airy navies grappling in the central blue ...

> Till the war-drum throbbed no longer, and the battle-flags were furled
> In the parliament of man, the federation of the world" –

but to this happy consummation he affixed no date.[6] Could it be

[6] In darker mood the monologuist soon follows these lines with others of ominous present import:

> "Slowly comes a hungry people, as a lion, creeping nigher,
> Glares at one that nods and winks behind a slowly dying fire."

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that the attempt to realize it in our time was definitely premature, and was this attempt due to the birth and spread during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of the modern belief in a broadly based democracy, and was this belief itself the product, in part at least, of that faith in the natural goodness of mankind, that sentimental morality, with the advent of which its burgeoning coincided? There is plausibility in the idea; and if there is reason to doubt the wisdom of setting up the United Nations in the first place, that reason could hardly fail to be enhanced by reflection on what has lately happened in the organization and on its probable future development.

Gradations of Morality in the Pyramid of Civilization

As to what has happened, could not much of it, in essentials, have been readily anticipated? What is the United Nations, in one aspect, but a two-level popular government – insofar as its power extends; and what was it *The Federalist* said about popular government? It said that popular government (it used the word republican) presupposes the existence of the better qualities of human nature in a higher degree than any other form – a degree which Herbert Spencer declared in effect, as we have seen, was realized by no society of his time. Well then, if popular government is so exceedingly exacting, what is to be expected of the United Nations, a popular government in which the units governed are societies occupying, some one, some another, nearly all the stages, from the lowest to the highest, on the present pyramid of civilization?

And now, leaving the United Nations, what shall we say of our conduct of the struggle between ourselves and our communist enemy? Has that represented a policy of adequate moral realism? Into our relations with him has there not appeared, here too, that dangerous illusion which I have called sentimental morality?[7] What of the Spirit of Geneva and the Spirit of Camp David, ghosts scarcely to be referred to without irony; what were they, after all, but chance expressions of our current national mood, our predilection for thinking, where human relations and values are concerned, not with the head, as did the distinguished moral realists who wrote our greatest political commentary – but with the heart? ◆

[7] For a brilliant account of sentimental morality, see Irving Babbitt's *Rousseau and Romanticism*, Chapter IV: "Romantic Morality: The Ideal" (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1919) – now obtainable in Meridian Books (Meridian Books, Inc., New York).

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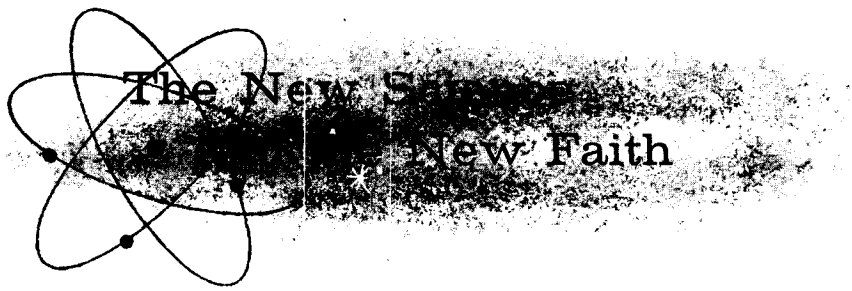

That men "are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights" is an old faith which the new science is beginning to share.

DONALD H. ANDREWS

IF WE LOOK about the world today, we can see clearly that there are two especially significant factors shaping the future of our civilization: *science* and *religion*. Science is placing in our hands the ultimate power of the universe, the power of the atom. Religion, or the lack of it, will decide whether we use this power to build a brave new world of peace and abundance for all mankind, or whether we misuse this power to leave a world utterly destroyed. How can we have the wisdom to meet such a new and difficult challenge?

We may feel pessimistic at the outlook. And yet there is a note of hope, because this same science that is giving us the power of the atom is also giving us atomic vision. We are looking inside the atom and seeing there a universe which is not material but something beyond the material, a universe that in a word is not matter but music. And it is in this new vision of the atom that we find an affirmation and an invigoration of our faith.

Atomic Energy

To see this vision in perspective, we need first of all a clear idea of the magnitude of this new power from the atom. You know that I could hold right here in my hand the little chunk of uranium metal that was the heart of the bomb that dropped on Hiroshima. It was only about the size of a baseball; but

Dr. Andrews is Professor of Chemistry, the Johns Hopkins University. This was delivered as a Laymen's Sunday sermon at Bryn Mawr Presbyterian Church, October 23, 1960.

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packed in that metallic ball there was the explosive force of 20,000 tons of TNT. That is enough TNT to fill the tower of the Empire State Building; and with the availability of bombs of that size, war became a new problem.

Now we might have restricted the use of uranium bombs by controlling the sources of uranium because it is found in only a few places in the world. But we had hardly started to adjust our thinking to this new uranium weapon when we were faced with the hydrogen bomb. Hydrogen is just as plentiful as uranium is scarce. We know that we have hydrogen in water; water is H_2O and the H stands for hydrogen; there is also hydrogen in wood and hydrogen in our bodies. I have calculated that if I could snap my fingers in one magic gesture to release the power of all the hydrogen in my body, I would explode with the force of a hundred bombs of the kind that fell on Hiroshima. I won't try the experiment, but I think you can see that if we all knew the secret, and we could all let ourselves go, there would be quite an explosion. And then think how little hydrogen we have in us compared with the hydrogen in Delaware Bay or in the ocean beyond. Salt water is still H_2O; the same hydrogen is there. And the size of the ocean shows us the magnitude of the destructive power we hold in our hands today.

Of course, there is also an optimistic side to the picture. For if I knew the secret of letting this power in my body change directly into electricity, I could rent myself out to the electric light companies and with just the power in my body, I could light all the lights and run all the factories in the entire United States for some days. And think, if we all knew this secret and we could pool our power, what a wonderful public utility company we would make. With just the hydrogen of our bodies, we could run the world for years. Then think of Delaware Bay and the ocean and you see that we have a supply of power for millions of years to come. It is power with which we can literally rebuild the world, provide adequate housing, food, education, abundant living for everyone everywhere.

An Octillion Atoms

Now let us see where this power comes from. To grasp our new view of the atom, we have to appreciate first of all how small the atom is. I have been trying to make this clear to my own class in chemistry. One night there were some dried peas lying on our kitchen table, and these peas looked to me like a little group of atoms;

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and I asked myself a question. Suppose I had the same number of peas as there are atoms in my body, how large an area would they cover?

I calculated first that there are about an octillion atoms in the average human body; that is a figure one with 27 ciphers, quite a large number. Then I calculated that a million peas would just about fill a household refrigerator; a billion peas would fill a small house from cellar to attic; a trillion peas would fill all the houses in a town of about ten thousand people; and a quadrillion peas would fill all the buildings in the city of Philadelphia.

I saw that I would soon run out of buildings at this rate, so I decided to take another measure – the whole state of Pennsylvania. Imagine that there is a blizzard over Pennsylvania, but instead of snowing snow, it snows peas; so we get the whole state covered with peas, about four feet deep. You can imagine what it would look like going out on the turnpike with the peas banked up against the houses and covering the cars; Pennsylvania thus blanketed would contain about a quintillion peas.

But we still have a long way to go. Next we imagine our blizzard raging over all the land areas of the entire globe – North America, South America, Europe, Asia, and Africa, all covered with peas four feet deep; then we have sextillion peas. Next we freeze over the oceans and cover the whole earth with peas, then we go out among the neighboring stars, collect 250 planets each the size of the earth, and also cover each of these with peas four feet deep; and then we have septillion. Finally we go into the farthest reaches of the Milky Way; we get 250,000 planets; we cover each of these with our blanket of peas and then at last we have octillion peas corresponding in number to the atoms in the body. So you see how small an atom is and how complicated you are.

A Speck—and Space

Now although an atom is small, we can still in imagination have a look at it. Let us focus on an atom of calcium from the tip of the bone of my finger and let us suppose that I swallow a magic *Alice in Wonderland* growing pill. I start growing rapidly and this calcium atom grows along with me. I shoot up through the roof, into the sky, past the clouds, through the stratosphere, out beyond the moon, out among the planets, until I am over a hundred and fifty million miles long. Then this atom of calcium will swell to something like a great balloon a hundred yards across, a balloon big enough to put a football field inside. And

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if you should step inside of such a magnified atom, according to the physics of forty years ago, you would see circulating over your head, down at the sides, and under your feet, some twenty luminous balls about the size of footballs. These balls are moving in great circles and ellipses, and are of course, the electrons, the particles of negative electricity which by their action create the forces that tie this atom of calcium to the neighboring atoms of oxygen and make up the solid structure of my finger bone.

Since these electrons are moving like planets, you may wonder whether there is an atomic sun at the center of the atom. So you look down there and you see a tiny, whirling point about the size of the head of a pin. This is the atomic sun, the atomic nucleus. Even if the atom were big enough to hold a football field, this nucleus is still only about the size of a pinhead. It is this atomic nucleus that contains the positive charge of electricity holding these negatively charged electrons in their orbits; it also contains nearly all the mass, and the atomic energy.

You may ask what else there is, and the answer is nothing – nothing but empty space. And since you are made of atoms, you are nothing much but empty space, too. If I could put your body in an imaginary atomic press and squeeze you down, squeeze these holes out of you in the way we squeeze the holes out of a sponge, you would get smaller and smaller until finally when the last hole was gone, you would be smaller than the smallest speck of dust that you could see on this piece of paper. Someone has remarked that this is certainly the ultimate in reducing. At any rate, it shows us how immaterial we are.

Music of the Spheres

Now this 1920 view of the atom was on the whole a discouraging picture. For we believed that the electrons obeyed the law of mechanics and electrodynamics; and therefore the atom was really just a little machine; and in mechanics the whole is no more than the sum of the parts. So if you are made of atoms, you are just a big machine; and since the universe is also made of atoms, it is just a supermachine. And this would mean that we live in a mechanistic universe, governed by the laws of cause and effect, bound in chains of determinism that hold the universe on a completely predetermined course in which there is not room for soul or spirit or human freedom. And this is why so many scientists a half a century ago were agnostics or atheists.

Then came the scientific revolu-

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tion in the late 1920's. A suggestion from Louis de Broglie, a physicist in France, showed us that these electrons are not point particles but waves. And to see the meaning of this new picture, imagine that you can put on more powerful glasses and go back inside the atom and have a look at it in the way we view it today. Now as you step inside, instead of seeing particles orbiting around like planets, you see waves and ripples very much like the ripples that you get on the surface of a pond when you drop a stone into it. These ripples spread out in symmetrical patterns like the rose windows of a great cathedral. And as the waves flow back and forth and merge with the waves from the neighboring atoms, you can put on a magic hearing aid and you hear music. It is a music like the music from a great organ or a vast orchestra playing a symphony. Harmony, melody, counterpoint symphonic structure are there; and as this music ebbs and flows, there is an antiphonal chorus from all the atoms outside, in fact from the atoms of the entire universe. And so today when we examine the structure of our knowledge of the atom and of the universe, we are forced to conclude that the best word to describe our universe is *music.*

Now this gives us a completely new philosophy. You see, if the universe were just a great machine, then it would be governed by mechanistic determinism and it would yield a hopeless outlook. But in music the *whole* is *more* than the sum of the parts. In music it is the aspect of the *whole* that is significant. Play a single note from a symphony and it may be pleasing or it may be harsh, but by itself it means very little. Only when all the notes are blended in the entire form, in the harmony, the melody, and the counterpoint, do we have the deep significance and power of the symphony. And interpreting life in this new perspective, we see that a human being is not a machine but a symphony.

A Part of the Universe

As you listen now, you don't hear this music of the spheres all around you; and you may ask why. First, although part of this music does actually consist of sound, it is so inaudible, so slight in energy content, that our ears cannot perceive it. Another part of this music consists of electrodynamic radiation like light; actually at this moment you are filled with a kind of symphonic light. And not only are you filled with it, you are also radiating it, and this can be proved very easily in the laboratory. Of course, if you turn out the lights and stand in the dark,

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you do not appear to be glowing; yet if you stand in front of an infra-red television camera in complete darkness, the television screen will show you as a glowing form, beaming with light which radiates out from you as a result of the vibration of your atoms. This is an established physical fact.

Far beyond that, in these new waves first discovered by de Broglie, we have a new kind of phenomenon in the universe, a new kind of dynamic form which ties the entire universe together in a new kind of unity. You may think that you are here sitting comfortably and quietly, but actually you are only focused here; you are spread out over the neighboring fields, over the surface of the earth, and throughout the entire universe.

I think that you can see this pattern if you think first of the force of gravity. If I let my hand fall, the reason it falls is not because bodies naturally fall, but because every atom in my hand is tied by the invisible threads of gravity to all the atoms in the trillions of tons of matrix rock which lie in the core of our earth. The reason you are sitting quietly and not floating up around the ceiling is because you also are tied by these invisible threads to the core of the earth beneath. But this is not all. If I wave my hand, these threads of gravity stemming from it not only move the leaves on the trees outside, create ripples down on the water of the bay, but also move the moon; the sun feels this motion, and the stars; even the farthest nebula will tremble because of the motion of my hand. As a famous physicist put it, every heartbeat is felt through the entire universe.

A Unity and Common Focus

And of course, this action is a two-way street. Not only do the forces from our bodies go out throughout the entire universe but the entire universe is feeding back both gravitational and de Broglie waves to us. If I cup my hands, in a very real sense I am holding between them the entire universe. Here between my hands is this fabric of dynamic force, coming here from every atom in the universe. Every one of these atoms is sending its mysterious influence all around us. We see that in this new sense we transcend space. We have to view our universe, not in terms of the location of points, not in terms of being *here* and not there, but in terms of a unity, a dynamic form in which all action and all reality have common focus. And in these terms, our faith and our religion take on new significance.

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We not only have this transcendence of space; we also find that the phenomenon of life transcends time. Today we know very little of the mysteries of the beginning and ending of time, of the creation and the ultimate destiny of the universe. We only begin to see dimly in perspective something of the events that took place billions of years ago when the relations of matter, energy, space, and time were very different from what they are today. We cannot say positively whether the universe was created at a definite point of time. Some physicists believe that there was an act of creation about ten billion years ago. Others say, "If that is so, what was happening *before* the creation of the universe?" Of course, that is an old question. St. Augustine was once asked, "What was the Lord doing before creation?" and is said to have replied that He was creating a special kind of hell for people who ask such questions.

Today we have to be content with very fragmentary knowledge of these initial cosmic events; but we see enough to realize that time does not go infinitely backward in a kind of stale uniform structure. There is in the origin of time some deeper meaning; and by symmetry we can believe that at the end of time, there is also a deeper meaning. So in this aspect of the whole of life, we perceive a reality that transcends time and merges into eternity.

Transposed Through Time

I think you can see this if you try to look at life in the atomic perspective. As you sit now with your octillion atoms, you are constantly exchanging old atoms for new. Every time you breathe, you breathe in quadrillions of oxygen atoms; you breathe out other quadrillions of molecules of carbon dioxide. It has been estimated that the atomic content of the entire body on the average is renewed about every five years, some parts faster and some parts slower.

Take Julius Caesar, for example, 2,000 years ago. Caesar went through many sets of octillion atoms in the course of his lifetime. And those atoms are now diffused pretty well around the entire surface of the earth; so it is an easy calculation to show that there is a high probability that you have in your body right now a thousand atoms that were once in the body of Julius Caesar. Of course, you also have atoms from Caesar's wife, from Caesar's dog, from the trees in Imperial Rome, in fact from nearly all the living objects that were here on earth 2,000 years ago.

Science tells us that there is really little significance in our pos-

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session of Caesar's atoms because we have today a new concept of the meaning of atomic individuality, and we believe that we cannot identify individual atoms. Nevertheless, this is a perspective that gives us a sense of unity in time. And speaking very reverently, we believe that Christ lived on earth as a man, that he shared our human lot, that he breathed as we breathe; and in the same perspective we can say that each of us has in his body a thousand atoms that were once in the body of Christ. And beyond this, science says that there is a reality still more significant. Individual atomic content means very little; for in this new perspective, the individual atoms are scarcely more than the shadows of a far deeper reality that we find in this total atomic *harmony* within us, the spirit of our Creator within us.

The Ultimate Creative Force

One of my friends suggested that human life is like an orchestra. There are octillion musicians on a vast stage; and as the symphony of life is played, many players rise and leave the stage and their places are taken by others; but the symphony goes on without a break and the director remains the same. You see that this perspective is now focusing on the whole which is more than the sum of the parts; and it tells us that there is in each of us an eternal core, call it dynamic force, call it personality, call it spirit or soul or symphony or what you will; there is in us this core, this director of our symphony of life that somehow has an invariance that transcends the changes of space and time. And in this way, we can understand that in mortal life there is this immortal reality that merges with the eternal.

In this perspective we can also see better our relations to our Creator. We are not infinitesimal beings on a small planet in a remote corner of the universe. Somehow the universe merges with us and in this new vision we can understand how there can be a Creator of the universe who holds in his hands the farthest reaches of the stars and at the same time stands close to each of us as a loving Father ready to strengthen and sustain us if we turn to him.

We see that literally the kingdom of heaven is around us and within us, that there is a spiritual domain with a reality far deeper and more significant than anything tangible and visible. And we see that this domain is where we live and move and have our being. We see that the ultimate power of the universe is not the shattering power of the atom, but the vitalizing power of love, the

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love of our Creator for us, the love that we should have for him and for our fellow human beings.

Today we must begin to live our lives in these new terms, living not as machines moving in superficial space, but as children of our Creator, moving in the domain of the spirit, close to our Creator when we turn to him, held ever in his loving hand. Living thus, we can face the vast problems of this new atomic age and can hope to solve them victoriously.

I believe that we can achieve this new faith. I believe that in this faith we can win the victory of this new age. And when that glad day comes, I believe we will understand with new wisdom the meaning of the words, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." ◆

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The Long Road Toward Knowledge

A MAN'S EDUCATION lies not in what is common to all, but in what is special to himself . . . .

But there is no fallacy so universal, and none so dangerous in this world, as the opinion that the man who does not know exactly what we ourselves know is an uneducated and ignorant person. The man who really knows is the man who has discovered truth for himself, and not the man who has been taught results . . . .

We all know that the modern Board-school child can expose the errors and show up the ignorance of the great Greek astronomers and investigators; and, beyond a doubt, children a century hence will marvel at the ignorance of the great physicists and electricians of our day. Children will marvel, because they have only been taught results; but educated men will admire the great discoverers whether of the Greek period or of our own day. They discovered, and therefore they knew, in their own line and their own degree; yet the greatest of them made only a small advance in the long road towards knowledge.

And, further, the educated man has learned that many roads towards many goals of knowledge stretch out before us, and that he who has struggled forward a little distance on any of them has done well, and may take rank among the men who know.

W. M. RAMSAY, *The Education of Christ*

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THE GILDED AGE REVISITED

MARK TWAIN has a perennial fascination, even for men who had reason for thinking they had absorbed him long ago, or had quit on him and gone on to other concerns.

Unable to resist the lure, Edward Wagenknecht, who originally published his *Mark Twain: the Man and His Work* back in 1935, has now rewritten his early work completely for a new edition (University of Oklahoma Press, $4.50). There have been many historical and critical studies of Mark Twain issued since 1935, and Professor Wagenknecht has felt himself impelled to pay his respects to practically all of them. Always a sound and sane commentator on Mark Twain, Professor Wagenknecht has sharpened up his first perceptions considerably and has fruitfully checked his original impressions against the recent Twain scholarship of Bernard De Voto and others.

Naturally, the new Wagenknecht book concerns itself with the disputed topic of Mark Twain's "determinism" and his alleged pessimism about the "damned human race." Critics such as the early Van Wyck Brooks have attributed the pessimism, which grew on Twain as he lived on into the first ten years of the twentieth century, to his "frustration" as an artist in a commercial civilization. Rebelling against the Brooks thesis, De Voto and others have retorted that Twain's blacker moods had nothing to do with artistic frustration; they became intensified after a financial failure and the devasting loss of a loved wife and two out of three daughters. As for Wagenknecht, he takes Twain for what he was, a man who had emotional ups and downs and who maintained no consistency between theory and practice. The Twain who was a philosophical determinist (see *What Is Man?*) held no man responsible for his acts. Yet, like other presumed fatalists before him, Mark Twain continued to castigate both men and governments for indulging in immoral acts long after he had

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gone over to the theory that human behavior is amorally written in both genes and stars.

On wars and revolutions and the question of "imperialism," Mark Twain can always be quoted against himself. In a chapter called "Testament" Wagenknecht speculates on what Twain might have thought about such things as the Russian Revolution (Twain was no friend of the Czar), or the anticolonial revolt in Africa and Asia (the Ceylonese Prime Minister once referred to Twain as an inspiration for his generation of Ceylonese patriots), or the New Deal (which the author of *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* would have loved for its humanitarian aspirations and hated for its emphasis on security at the expense of individualism). Wagenknecht thinks he knows what Twain would have had to say about "the greatest atrocity in all recorded history, the dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki." But, curiously enough, in his adaptation of Twainiana to the 1961 scene, Wagenknecht pays very little attention to the significance of the one directly satiric novel in Mark Twain's long list of books. That was *The Gilded Age,* which was the joint product of Mark Twain and his Hartford, Connecticut, neighbor, Charles Dudley Warner.

A Neglected Masterpiece

The Gilded Age gave its title to a whole era of U. S. history. "Alone among the novelists of his time," so De Voto wrote of Twain and *The Gilded Age,* "he concerns himself with the national muck. In him only exist boom towns, the railroad builders, the Dilworthies, the lobbyists, the gallicized Irish, society swelling to gimcrack pretensions with the manure of empire under its fingernails, the monster fungus of the gilded age." Professor Wagenknecht quotes De Voto thus and then passes on to the *Connecticut Yankee,* "a much greater book." *The Gilded Age,* to Wagenknecht, stands as a commentary on the materialism of its times, an indictment of the age of the Robber Barons. As such, it is isolated in the past of ninety years ago. Fecund though he is in relating such things as Mark Twain's remarks on General Funston's capture of the Filipino patriot, Aguinaldo, to the present day, Wagenknecht makes no attempt here to bring *The Gilded Age* to bear on modern Washington, D. C., to which it applies even more than it did to the Washington of its own day.

If there is anything about Mark Twain in relation to *The Gilded Age* that cries out to be said, it is that he was no enemy of enterprise as such. The single hero of

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The Gilded Age, a decent young man named Philip Sterling, engages in a quite legitimate bit of business when he uses voluntarily subscribed capital to run a tunnel through a Pennsylvania mountain. Young Sterling is reasonably certain there is anthracite coal in the mountain, for he has taken pains to educate himself on the subject of geological probabilities. When he strikes coal, he not only insures himself of a well-earned fortune, he also rescues a trusting Quaker businessman, the father of his fiancee, from the consequences of having been too softhearted toward a couple of rascals who had proposed to mine Pennsylvania's legislature instead of its mountains.

So in *The Gilded Age* we have capitalistic virtue rewarded as Twain himself was not rewarded in his own great business venture, the attempt to market the first typesetting machine. Twain backed a machine called the Paige – but the Mergenthaler machine eventually proved more practical; and Twain lost his chance for a killing when he refused to merge his own Paige interests on a fifty-fifty basis with the Mergenthaler people. As Professor Wagenknecht says, he was that close to millions.

Because of the Paige typesetter episode, it is often said that Mark Twain had a little of Colonel Beriah Sellers in him – of Sellers, the great promoter of *The Gilded Age,* who is always just about to make millions out of a speculation. But Twain, a Philip Sterling in his own business dealings, did not ask Washington, D. C., to bail him out when the Paige speculation collapsed. Thus Twain was only half a Colonel Sellers. He was willing to take a chance with his own money; he didn't want to raid the purses of everyone else by utilizing the federal Treasury to bankroll his mistakes.

"Washingtonitis" Condemned

What *The Gilded Age* satirizes is not speculation, which can be good or bad; it is the act of running to Washington, D. C., for a sure thing. The children of Si Hawkins, who owned that famous land in the Knobs district of East Tennessee, did not go wrong by trusting to the future value of the land itself; Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner enumerate several occasions when the Hawkins family might have disposed of their acres for a few thousands in profit. Where the Hawkinses went wrong was in holding out for millions from the federal government.

As for Colonel Sellers, he couldn't distinguish between a legitimate speculation and the art of lobbying for a special deal. The

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hilarious pages in *The Gilded Age* that are devoted to the lobbyists' efforts to run a railroad through Stone's Landing, a town on a Missouri creek that was navigable to ducks and snapping turtles, are no indictment of business as such. Twain and Warner had something to say about Colonel Sellers' foolishness in failing to hang on to the profit made on a sale of Missouri mules in New Orleans. But this aspect of Sellers is not satirized; it is merely cited as an example of bad business judgment. What is satirized is the Sellers who thinks the government should build a canal from the James River to the Mississippi, to be paid for out of a greenback currency that is based not only on gold and silver but on "everything."

Which brings us to the present day, which has its own methods of greenback financing. What is the difference between the Washington, D. C., of *The Gilded Age* and the Washington of John Dos Passos' new novel, *Midcentury: A Contemporary Chronicle* (Houghton Mifflin, $5.95)? The only difference is that new lobbies have grown up to compete with the old. The railroads today are still getting money, not for purposes of running lines into towns like Stone's Landing, Missouri, but (as in the case of the New Haven road) to stave off total collapse. Meanwhile, the farmer can bet on a sure thing in planting corn, cotton, wheat, and a few other crops; and farm land continues to sell at inflated highs because Washington, D. C., underwrites the farmer's product. Labor itself is underwritten in its bargaining with the employers. And as for aid to depressed areas, isn't this Colonel Sellers' type of stuff all over again? For what were Stone's Landing, Missouri, and the Knobs district of East Tennessee but the depressed areas of the Gilded Age?

The truth is that Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner hit upon something deep in the national character in *The Gilded Age*. It applies to the labor leaders who are flayed for their monopoly grabs in Dos Passos' *Midcentury* (a novel in the great Twain-Warner tradition) just as much as it did to the land grant and railroad subsidy lobbyists of the eighteen sixties and seventies. *The Gilded Age* should be read, not as an historical novel of the past, but as a document whose reference has been vastly broadened in the twentieth century. It is too bad that Professor Wagenknecht did not recognize the book's enormous contemporary relevance. ◆

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5. *"Too much government? Just what would you cut out?"*
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7. *"Why, you'd take us back to the horse and buggy."*
8. *"The free market ignores the poor."*
9. *"Man is born for cooperation, not for competition."*
10. *"Americans squander their incomes on themselves while public needs are neglected."*
11. *"Labor unions are too powerful today, but were useful in the past."*
12. *"We have learned to counteract and thus avoid any serious depression."*
13. *"Human rights are more important than property rights."*
14. *"Employees often lack reserves and are subject to 'exploitation' by capitalist employers."*
15. *"Competition is fine, but not at the expense of human beings."*
16. *"We're paying for it, so we might as well get our share."*
17. *"I'm a middle-of-the-roader."*
18. *"Customers ought to be protected by price controls."*
19. *"The welfare state is the best security against communism."*
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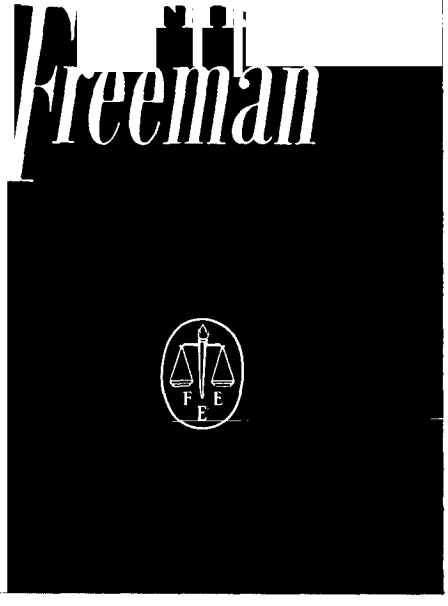

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